

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Volume 49 8 Numbers
1953-54

EDITORIAL BOARD

- Editor-in-Chief:* CLYDE MURLEY, Northwestern University.
Editor for New England: James A. Notopoulos, Trinity College.
Editor for the Pacific States: W. M. Green, University of California.
Editor for the Atlantic States: Franklin B. Krauss, Pennsylvania State University.
Editor for Book Reviews, Review Cupboard: Grundy Steiner, Northwestern University.
Editor for "Notes": Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa.
Editor for Secondary Schools: Grace L. Beede, University of South Dakota.
Editor for "Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals": William C. Grummel, University of Washington.
Editor for "We See by the Papers": John F. Latimer, George Washington University.

BUSINESS STAFF

- Managing Editor:* D. Herbert Abel, Loyola University.
Circulation Manager: John N. Hough, University of Colorado.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL is published (October through May) by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South with the cooperation of the Classical Association of New England, the Classical Association of the Pacific States, and the Classical Association of the Atlantic States.

EDITORIAL OFFICE: 629 Noyes St., Evanston 16, Illinois

BUSINESS AND ADVERTISING: 820 North Michigan Ave., Chicago 11

CIRCULATION: 8E Hellems Bldg., University of Colorado

Printed by LLOYD HOLLISTER INC., 1232 Central Ave., Wilmette, Illinois

SEP 29 1964

Teach

I

M

T. S.

Edwa

Soph

Notes

P

T

Greek

"We

The

Latin

The

Review

S

Z

L

Volu

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

OCTOBER 1953

Teacher's Scrapbook

Language in the Elementary Schools
Minutiae

Esther Weightman 1
Laura M. Shoemaker 2

T. S. Eliot and the Alexandrians

Paul MacKendrick 7

Edward Gibbon's Utopia

Sherman B. Barnes 13

Sophocles — Politikos

D. Herbert Abel 17

Notes

Pro Patria — A Note
Troas, Reliquias Danaum atque Immitis Achilli

William Sylvester 22
Dorrance S. White 23

Greek Transitional Sculpture

Robert R. Harrison 25

"We See by the Papers"

John F. Latimer 30

The Personal Abuse in Lucilius' *Satires*

Laura Robinson 31

Latin or Babel

Translated from Jean Capelle by Thomas H. Quigley 37

The Review Cupboard

Grundy Steiner 41

Reviews

Sparta (Michell); *Ancient Sparta* (Chrimes) E. L. Highbarger 45
Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau (Kraft)
Chester G. Starr 47
Dionysius of Halicarnassus (trans. Cary) Alfred P. Dorjahn 47

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-Chief: CLYDE MURLEY, Northwestern University.

Managing Editor: D. HERBERT ABEL, Loyola University, 820 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago.
Book Reviews, Review Cupboard: GRUNDY STEINER, Northwestern University.

For Secondary Schools, GRACE L. BEEDE, University of South Dakota.

"Notes": OSCAR E. NYBAKKEN, State University of Iowa.

"Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals": WILLIAM C. GRUMMEL, University of Washington.

"We See by the Papers": JOHN F. LATIMER, 706 20th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

For the Atlantic States: FRANKLIN B. KRAUSS, Pennsylvania State College.

For New England: JAMES A. NOTOPOULOS, Trinity College.

For the Pacific States: W. M. GREEN, University of California.

Associate Editors: GEORGE E. LANE, Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass.; FRANKLIN H. POTTER, State University of Iowa; F. STUART CRAWFORD, Boston University; EUGENE MILLER, University of Pittsburgh.

CORRESPONDENCE

Address all general editorial correspondence, MSS etc. to CLYDE MURLEY, 629 Noyes St., Evanston 16, Ill.; departmental materials to the proper editors listed above; MSS from the Atlantic, New England, and

Pacific States to the regional editors above; subscriptions and details of circulation to Sec'y-Treas. JOHN N. HOUGH, 8E Hellems Hall, University of Colorado, Boulder; advertising and other business items to Mr. Abel.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

The general subscription price is \$3.75 (USA), \$4.00 (foreign). Single copies 60c (USA), 65c (foreign); subscriptions for less than a year at the single copy rate. Teachers and other interested individuals may subscribe through one of the regional associations below, annual membership-subscription rate, \$3.75. Members may subscribe also to the CLASSICAL OUTLOOK and CLASSICAL WEEKLY; for rates consult the regional secretary-treasurer. Members of CAMWS and CAAS have the option of receiving either the CLASSICAL JOURNAL or CLASSICAL WEEKLY (published by CAAS).

MEMBERSHIPS

Address the Secretary-Treasurer of the appropriate regional association. CAMWS, JOHN N. HOUGH, 8E Hellems Hall, University of Colorado, Boulder. CANE, F. STUART CRAWFORD, 725 Commonwealth Ave., Boston 15. CAAS, EUGENE MILLER, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh 13. CAPS (Northern), MISS WINIFRED E. WETER, Seattle Pacific College, Seattle 99. (Central), E. Y. LINDSAY, Grant Union H. S., Del Paso Heights, Calif. (Southern), MRS. JANE M. INFELD, 10474¹/₂ Eastbourne Ave., Los Angeles 24.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL is published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Inc., with the cooperation of the Classical Association of New England, the Classical Association of the Pacific States, and the Classical Association of the Atlantic States. The annual volume consists of eight issues (October through May). Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at Wilmette, Ill., on September 14, 1953 with an additional entry at Boulder, Colorado. Entered under Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on October 19, 1952.

Printed by Lloyd Hollister Inc., Wilmette, Illinois, U. S. A.

Copies	1-4pp.	5-8pp.		9-12pp.	13-16pp.	Covers
25	4.40	6.00	Price	6.60	8.25	5.50
50	4.65	6.60	List	7.50	9.25	6.00
75	5.00	7.15	For	8.35	10.25	6.60
100	5.25	7.75	Reprints	9.25	11.25	7.15
Add'l 100	1.25	2.25		3.50	4.00	2.25

Reprints are made up in excerpt form without covers, unless otherwise ordered. For reprints requiring extra composition, changes in text, special cover setup, and alterations, an extra charge will be made.

ve;
to
ems
ad-
Mr.

3.75
60c
less
ch-
may
sso-
sub-
and
the
of
re-
or

ap-
WS,
sity
HARR
ton
of
rth-
ttle
Y.
aso
M.
An-

and
ssi-
tes.
end-
onal
ling
ized

For
era-

T
T
T

Sal

G
Thi
be
and
trib
ach
is t
trib
tion
enc
ext
by
in
with
ods
inte
stat
enc
this
ver

E

(T
latin
thin
and
seri
ings
us
thes

WH
gua
fore
elen
shou
for
Unit
lang
four
does
amo
mad
sche
not
all,
gua
dent
addi
will
star

THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

Salvete Magistri!

GREETINGS, high school Latin teachers! This is your department, and we want it to be exactly what you want; your interests and needs will be our sole guide; your contributions will give it whatever merit it achieves. The purpose of this Department is to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions relative to teaching problems, experiences, and activities, both academic and extra-curricular. Questions will be answered by mail or in these pages. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department: Grace L. Beede, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S.D.

LANGUAGE IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

(Two of our most progressive and stimulating teachers provide us here with something we are all interested in thinking about and will no doubt be further discussing seriously and with animation in our meetings. As this chain reaction takes hold, let us hear, dear readers, your response to these ideas and trends. G. L. B.)

WHAT WOULD IT MEAN to the future of language in the high schools if the teaching of foreign language should be started in the elementary grades? Perhaps that sentence should read, "What will it mean when . . ." for it does seem as if at long last in the United States the idea of teaching a foreign language even as early as the third and fourth grades is about to catch fire. If it does and becomes universal, a tremendous amount of adjustment will necessarily be made by all teachers of language in high school. Think of the changes that will be not only advisable but inevitable! First of all, the present approach to a foreign language will be unsatisfactory when our students can speak one or more languages in addition to English. Our present textbooks will not suffice even in the case of students starting a new language when they already

know much about language. As for teachers of any subject matter, if their students can speak more than one language, surely the teachers should be able to do so.

What is to be the role of teachers of Latin if this possibility becomes a reality? What should it be while this possibility is becoming a reality, if it is? It seems to me that teachers of Latin are sufficiently numerous, intelligent and influential (this is the ideal time for me to mention that I am a Latin teacher) to make themselves felt as a real force at this stage of what may be the beginning of the greatest change in the teaching of language since our own Classical Investigation. (Senators, you know, have no monopoly on investigations!)

The Conference on the Role of Foreign Languages in American Schools, held in Washington, D.C., on January 15-16, 1953, set me to thinking about this question. A report given there by a committee headed by Emilie Margaret White of Washington, D.C., made me decide that our time for organizing may be limited if we choose to make our plans instead of having them made for us. The report on the teaching of foreign language in elementary schools gave some of the data just previously collected by the committee. Some of the facts were pleasantly startling to the teachers of Modern Foreign Languages, startling to Latin teachers.

Foreign languages, according to the report, are now being taught in elementary schools in the District of Columbia, in 9 eastern states, 9 states of the Middle West, and in 6 mountain and Pacific states. Of course that teaching is not wide-spread in those states, but it is found in nearly one hundred schools. Spanish leads the list with fifty schools, French comes second with thirty-three, German is in six schools, and Latin in six. Those are the figures for last year, and I know from my own observation that the numbers have changed by this time.

The report states that more schools start foreign language study in the third or fourth grade than in any other elementary grade; but one school starts it in kindergarten, seven start it in the first grade, four in the second, twelve in the fifth, four in the sixth, thirteen in the seventh, and two in the eighth. Latin study is begun in three schools

in the seventh grade, in one school in the eighth, in one school in the fourth-to-sixth, while in the District of Columbia it is started "wherever the teacher may profitably use the units furnished to enrich the program."

There are other interesting facts in the report. For example, some schools report the possibility of a continuous language program through elementary and secondary schools. In one town, Corpus Christi, Texas, Spanish is a required subject for all children in grades three to eight. The method employed for teaching the foreign language is generally aural-oral. Most of the teachers are donating their services in the effort to promote the program. It is not surprising that many schools have difficulty finding teachers who are qualified to teach a language and at the same time trained to teach young children.

You see the factors that pose the problem of our role in the program. It seems hardly likely that we can share in the early elementary language teaching. I am not at all sure that we even want to. Junior and senior high school students need our subject now and will continue to need it no matter whether they are bi-lingual, tri-lingual or non-lingual. With their aural-oral training they will still be without sufficient knowledge of grammar, spelling, and word derivation, and in even greater need of background for their Romance Languages. The question is whether or not they will realize that. Who will advise them of their need if we do not? Let us think about it and make some plans — and make them soon!

ESTHER WEIGHTMAN

University of Wisconsin

MINUTIAE

(These Minutiae, which had their inception at the 1952 Latin Workshop at the University of Wisconsin, are guaranteed to add sparkle to bulletin board, recitation, or Latin club meeting.¹ Like *scintillae silici excussae*, some of the lighter witticisms may fan the flame of momentary diversion; others, enkindle fire of new and more lasting concern. As items of interest, they are avowedly only a beginning, to which other items may be added as occasion arises and the spirit moves. Since every Latin teacher must have some favorites in this category, you are invited to share them with the rest of us through this Department. G.L.B.)

I. EPIGRAMS FROM MARTIAL

Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare:

Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.

(I. xxvii)

This was parodied by Tom Brown
(1663-1704):

I do not love thee, Dr. Fell,
The reason why I cannot tell.
But this alone I know full well,
I do not love thee, Dr. Fell.¹

* * *

Quem recitas meus est, o Fidentine, libellus:

Sed male recitas, incipit esse tuus.

(I. xxxviii)

* * *

Nuper erat medicus, nunc est vispillo

Diailus:

Quod vispillo facit, fecerat et medicus.

(I. xlvii)

* * *

Pexatus pulchre rides mea, Zoile, trita.

Sunt haec trita quidem, Zoile, sed mea sunt. (II. lviii)

(*pexatus*, "smartly dressed." *trita*, "worn-out clothes.")

* * *

Semper pauper eris, si pauper es, Aemiliane.

Dantur opes nulli nunc nisi divitibus.

(V. lxxxi)

* * *

Cur non mitto meos tibi, Pontiliane, libellos?

Ne mihi tu mittas, Pontiliane, tuos.

(VII. iii)

* * *

Difficilis, facilis, iucundus, acerbus es idem:

Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te.

(XII. lxvii)

* * *

Inscripsit tumulis septem scelerata virorum

"Se fecisse," Chloe. Quid pote simplicius? (IX. xv)

(*pote*—sc. *erat esse*. *Se fecisse*—Chloe fecit; i.e., the tombs.)

* * *

Reply to a critic:

"Triginta toto mala sunt epigrammata libro."

Si totidem bona sunt, Lause, bonus liber est. (VII. lxxxii)

* * *

On a suitor of an old and ugly but rich woman:

Petit Gemellus nuptias Maronillae

Et cupit et instat et precatur et donat.

Adeone pulchra est? Immo foedius nil est.

Quid ergo in illa petitur et placet? Tussit.

(I. x)

(*immo*, "nay." *Tussit*, "she has a cough"; i.e., w'll not live long.)

* * *

Play on the meaning of ago:

Semper agis causas et res agis, Attale, semper:

Est, non est quod agas, Attale, semper agis.

Si res et causae desunt, agis, Attale, mulas.

Attale, ne quod agas desit, agas animam. (I. lxxix)

(*agis causas*, "you plead causes"; *res agis*, "you transact business"; *agis mulas*, "you drive mules"; *agas animam*, "breathe out your life.")

* * *

A free translation:

You act the pleader and you act the man
Of business; acting is your constant plan:
So prone to act, the coachman's part is
tried;

Lest all parts fail thee, act the suicide.

* * *

II. MYTHOLOGY

A. FROM ENGLISH POETS

Venus was fair, fair was the queen of love,
Fairer than Pallas or the wife of Jove.

—Robert Greene, "Alcida"

Those three fatal Sisters whose sad hands
Doo weave the direfull threds of destinie,
And in their wrath brake off the vitall
bands.

—Spenser, "Daphnida"

Spin, spin, Clotho, spin!

Lachesis twist and Atropos sever.

—Lowell, "Villa France"

Better like Hector in the field to die,
Than like the perfumed Paris turn and fly.

—Longfellow, "Morituri Salutamus"

See Sisyphus that in his anguish rolls
Upward, ever, the stone which still
rebounds.

—S. Phillips, "Ulysses"

Thou fearest the wild wail of our
Cassandra.

—Landor, "Espousal of Polyxena"

- B. "PHOEBUS APOLLO REVERSUS," a playlet in three scenes was a project for the Latin Workshop at the University of Wisconsin by Mary Hoyt Stoddard, Carlinville, Illinois, July, 1952. Scene II has a wealth of material for interesting bits of information.

C. CONUNDRUM by William Bellamy:

My first for naught has been
employed, (O)

A verb the thrifty most avoid, (*owe*)

And you and I must make my last; (*us*)

When Vulcan from my whole was cast

He has my second ever after, (*lymp*)

Provoking all the gods to laughter.³

III. QUOTATIONS

Simonides — Oft have I repented of my

words, but never of my silence.

Sulla (said of Julius Caesar) — "There's many a Marius in that young lad."

Aristotle — The purpose of the nation is to organize society for the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

Any form of government is good as long as the ruling power seeks the good of all rather than its own profit.

There should be neither too many rich nor too many poor in a country. There should be an overwhelmingly powerful middle class.

Euclid — "Give me a place to stand, and I will lift the world."

IV. VIRI

GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR

That Julius Caesar was a famous man;

With what his valor did enrich his wit,

His wit set down to make his valor live;

Death makes no conquest of this

conqueror,

For now he lives in fame, though not
in life.

—Shakespeare, "Richard III"

He is reported to have been tall for a Roman, of light complexion, with bright black eyes. He was very sensitive about his baldness and combed his thinning locks down from the top of his head. Of all the honors given him by the Senate and the people, the right to wear a laurel wreath perpetually pleased him most. Scarcely any of the conspirators who slew Caesar survived him more than three years or died a natural death. Brutus and Cassius killed themselves with the same poniards with which they had stabbed Caesar.

—Suetonius

ARCHIMEDES inserted false statements into his books to see if anybody noticed, to wake up sleepy pupils, and to discourage copycats.

DRACO was commissioned to write down the existing laws, for the laws of Athens had never been written and the administration of justice was unfair. As he wrote them, the laws were so cruel that it was said that they were "written in blood." Hence, the word, "draconic," meaning inhumanly cruel, excessively severe.

SOLON was appointed, in 594 B.C., to revise the laws of Draco. He did so very wisely. Hence, a lawmaker or legislator is known as a "solon."

V. "IT PAYS TO INCREASE YOUR WORD POWER"

This series in THE READER'S DIGEST is well

known. Note the origin of words used during a recent twelve-month period.

From Latin	174	Russian	2
Greek	20	Persian	2
French	18	Dutch	1
English	11	Norwegian	1
		Unknown	1

"-INE" WORDS

aquiline	from	aquila	eagle
bovine		bos	cow
canine		canis	dog
equine		equus	horse
feline		felis	cat
leonine		leo	lion
lupine		lupus	wolf
porcine		porcus	pig
taurine		taurus	bull
vulpine		vulpes	fox

A FEW OF THE MANY WORDS WHICH HAVE NOT CHANGED

Nasturtium — This flower has the same name it had 2,000 years ago. Its derivation is: *nasus*, "nose," plus *torquere*, "twist." It is a "nose-twister" because of its pungent odor.

<i>Moratorium</i>	a delay
<i>Solarium</i>	a sun parlor
<i>Hippopotamus</i>	a river horse
<i>Ultimatum</i>	the last word
<i>Miranda</i>	one to be admired
<i>Gladius</i>	a little sword
<i>Millenium</i>	a thousand years
<i>Dementia</i>	out of one's mind
<i>Agenda</i>	things to be done
<i>Amanda</i>	one to be loved

PICTURES BEHIND OUR WORDS

In the earliest days of Rome:	whence came our word
The common treasury was a basket of wicker work (<i>fiscus</i>)	fiscal
A contract was made by a straw (<i>stipula</i>) broken and retained by the two contracting parties	stipulate
Money took the form of your herd (<i>pecus</i>) of cattle	pecuniary

THE GREEK ALPHABET

Be sure to have the students learn the Greek Alphabet — both the capital and the small letters. It can be found in every library, either in the large dictionary or in some book on word study. The students will love it.

VI. SEVEN WONDERS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

1. The Egyptian Pyramids.
2. The Colossus of Rhodes.
3. The Hanging Gardens of Babylon.
4. The Temple of Diana at Ephesus.
5. The Statue of Zeus at Olympia.
6. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.
7. The Lighthouse of Pharos off Alexandria. (It was built of white marble at a cost of \$1,000,000, in 270 B.C., and was still in use in 1300 A.D.)

VII. LATIN QUOTATIONS

Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur.

—Ennius

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis.

—Horace

Horae cedunt et dies et menses et anni.

—Cicero

Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.

—Juvenal

*Quem oderint dii, hunc paedagogum fecerunt.*⁴

—Plautus

VIII. TIME

The English hour you may fix
If to the Latin you add six.

Daylight Saving: In June a Roman hour was at its longest, one hour and fifteen minutes. In December, at its shortest, the Roman hour was only forty-five minutes long.

THE CALENDAR

In 46 B.C., the calendar year was so out of touch with the solar year that Julius Caesar ordered that there should be—believe it or not—a year of 445 days in 46 B.C. It takes 365 days, 5 hours, 49 minutes for the earth to complete its orbit. Julius Caesar had an extra day inserted in the calendar every fourth year. The calendar leaped one day; hence, "Leap Year." A year is 11 minutes short of 365¼ days. By 1582 these extra minutes had thrown the calendar off by eleven days. Pope Gregory fixed the calendar by his decree that: The next day after the 4th of October was the 15th of October.

The expression, *Graecis Kalendis*, "On the Greek Kalends," means never, for the Greeks had no Kalends.

September was once called "Germanicus" in honor of that Emperor, just as the month of August was named for Augustus, but it did not stick.

DAYS OF THE WEEK

<i>Dies Solis</i>	Day of the Sun
<i>Dies Lunae</i>	Day of the Moon
<i>Dies Martis</i>	Day of Mars, god of war
<i>Dies Mercurii</i>	Day of Mercury, god of business
<i>Dies Jovis</i>	Day of Jupiter, god of thunder
<i>Dies Veneris</i>	Day of Venus, goddess of love
<i>Dies Saturni</i>	Day of Saturn, god of harvest

IX. THE CHRISTIAN SYMBOL OF THE FISH

A fish was engraved on the early Christian tombs, for the initial letters of "Iesus/Christ/ of God/ the Son/ Savior" spell the Greek word *Ichthus*, meaning "fish."

X. DE FUNERIBUS

There were certain restrictions in the first century B.C.

1. Only three bands of purple could be displayed.
2. Only ten flute players could be hired.

3. Professional mourners could not tear their cheeks.
4. No gold could be put in the grave (unless the teeth were bound in by gold wires).
5. Funeral feasts were suppressed.
6. Perfume could not be thrown on the flames.
7. Only one funeral was allowed per person. (To attract attention to the family, sometimes several funerals were held for the same person.)

XI. ROMAN MONUMENTS

Aqueducts. The first aqueduct was built in 312 B.C. Eventually there were fourteen in operation, some bringing water from as far as sixty miles away and totalling 332,000,000 gallons, or 300 gallons per person, per day.

The Colosseum covered five acres and seated 87,000 people. The outer wall was 157 feet high, the combat area was 280 by 175 feet, and the over-all dimensions were 615 by 510 feet. A huge awning, *velarium*, was stretched over the whole building to protect the spectators from sun and rain when necessary. The floor was covered with sawdust and sand, *arena*, to prevent the gladiators from slipping and to absorb the blood. The whole arena was equipped so that it could be flooded quickly for mimic sea battles. One explanation given for the name, Colosseum, is that the structure stood near a huge statue, *colossus*.

The Cloaca Maxima, constructed by Tarquinius Superbus, drained the marshes between the hills of Rome. It was so big that Agrippa once traversed it in a boat, and Pliny says that a load of hay could pass through it easily. It was twenty feet in diameter. A goddess was chosen to preside over it; of all goddesses — Venus! *Venus Cloacina*, "Venus of the Sewers."

XII. THE GREEK THEATER

The seats are marble; bring your own cushions. Five plays will be put on; bring a lunch or two, or more! Women were not admitted to comedies — too rough! So if the women are there, it's a tragedy! No peanuts or popcorn — but fried peas.

Only three actors were allowed on stage at once. More would cause confusion, it was thought, since the top seats were so far from the stage. Actors sometimes wore boots with soles eight inches thick, to make them look taller. Each boot would fit either foot quite comfortably, making "actor's boot" the Greek expression for "turn-coat." Actors also wore towering head-dresses. But even so, they looked small from the top of the hill. Masks which acted as amplifiers were worn. No facial expression was possible, so masks came in types: for king, for servant, for rich old man, etc.

The chorus was dressed fantastically at times: as birds, clouds, animals, etc. A member of the chorus, which was composed exclusively of men, had to be able to do three things at one time: 1) recite poetry, 2) make appropriate gestures, and 3) dance to music.

Crime, violence, and murder could not be shown on the Greek stage. A platform would be rolled out on the stage, and there would stand the wicked murderer with dripping dagger, his victim at his feet. Not a word was spoken. As soon as everybody got the idea, the platform was drawn back. The "corpse" would probably come back to play some other role, having washed away all traces of his late misfortune.

XIII. NUGAE

From the "LINE O' TYPE OR TWO": If the American people had more cerebellum, they would have less use for the words "ante bellum" and "post bellum." (*Joe from Mo.*)

RIDDLES. The most famous riddle of antiquity is that of the Sphinx: What animal is it that goes on four feet in the morning, two feet at noon, and three feet in the evening? 5

The Greeks were fond of riddles; the practical Romans rather scorned them. At parties, the one who guessed the correct answer was rewarded with a special piece of cake or candy; the loser had to pay a forfeit, which was usually the drinking of a liberally salted glass of wine.

Caution to Tourists:

Auriga lente et vide urbem nostram.
Auriga celeriter et vide carcerem nostram.
Say it rapidly:
Navigatum!
Iubet vicissum!
If you know Norwegian, this is very funny:
ostenderes
ergo olapeter

A mystifying Inscription:
(found on a post)

TOTI
EMUL
ESTO8

The following sentence was attributed to Alaric as he stood at the gates of Rome: TE TE RO RO MA MA NU NU DA DA TE TE LA TE TE. (TE TERO ROMA MANU NUDA DATE TELA, LATETE.)

VAGARIES OF THE FUTURE TENSE. This help comes from Miss Sabin:

Conjugations one and two
Have *bo, bi, bu*.
Conjugations four and three
Have an "a" and all the rest "e."
Why is the future tense of the third and fourth conjugations like an old maid? 7
Why is the future tense of the third and fourth conjugations like a horse without a bridle? 8

XIV. VARIAE FORMULAE

<i>Aperi fenestram</i>	Open the window
<i>Claude januam</i>	Shut the door
<i>Faveas</i>	Please
<i>Haec res est</i>	This is the best thing to do
<i>optima factu</i>	It is better
<i>Melius est</i>	I have nothing to do
<i>Nihil habeo quod</i>	I do not know the way
<i>agam</i>	Mind your own business
<i>Non novi viam</i>	Come in
<i>Tuas res perage</i>	Listen
<i>Ingredere</i>	Yesterday morning.
<i>(ingredimini)</i>	This morning
<i>Attende</i>	Do not do this
<i>(attendite)</i>	What shall I do?
<i>Heri mane.</i>	What is new?
<i>Hodie mane</i>	Come to class with me
<i>Noli (nolite)</i>	Why are you silent?
<i>hoc facere</i>	
<i>Quid faciam?</i>	
<i>Quid novi?</i>	
<i>Veni ad</i>	
<i>classem mecum</i>	
<i>Quid taces?</i>	

AT THE TABLE

<i>Accipe quantum</i>	Take as much as you like
<i>voles</i>	
<i>Da patinam</i>	Pass that dish, please
<i>istam, faveas</i>	
<i>Fames est</i>	Hunger is the best sauce
<i>optimum</i>	(seasoning)
<i>condimentum</i>	
<i>Intrate in</i>	Go into the dining room
<i>triclinium</i>	I like it
<i>Placet mihi</i>	
<i>Plus quam</i>	It is more than enough
<i>satis est</i>	Good health
<i>Prosit</i>	

FOOD

<i>panis, is, m. bread</i>	<i>ovum, i, n. egg</i>
<i>butyrum, i, n. butter</i>	<i>dulces, ium, f. candy</i>
<i>fructus, us, m. fruit</i>	<i>sal, salis, m. salt</i>
<i>caro, carnis, f. meat</i>	<i>edo, edere, (3) eat</i>
<i>baca, ae, f. berry</i>	<i>mando, ere, chew</i>
<i>lactuca, ae, f. lettuce</i>	<i>bibo, ere, bibi, —, drink</i>
<i>iac, lactis, n. milk</i>	<i>malum, i, n. apple</i>

XV. POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND PROFESSIONS

ELECTION NOTICES found on the walls:

- 1) P. FVR. II. V. VB. O. V. F.
*Publium Furium Duumvirum Virum Bonum, Oro Vos Facite*⁹
- 2) TREBIUM AED. TONSORES
The Barbers stand for Trebius as Aedile.
- 3) VARUM AED. O. V. F. VNGVENTARI
The "Beauty Parlor" men beg that you elect Varus as aedile.

REVENUES of Rome came largely from the provinces which had not yet acquired citizenship. Among the taxes a Roman paid Inheritance and, in the later Republic, a Sales Tax of 1%.

INTEREST (Usury). The legal rate of interest was 8½%, but this was rarely enforced. The wealthy money lenders seemed

to be able to charge almost any rate. Brutus loaned money at 48% with compound interest.

STENOGRAPHERS in Rome were called *Actuarii*. Cicero used them to take down the speech of Cato at the trial of Catiline for conspiracy against the Republic. After 59 B.C., stenographers reported daily the proceedings of the Senate and released them to the people as *Senatus Acta Diurna*.

LAW. "The Roman State was the world's great laboratory of Law." The lawyer in Cicero's time was prohibited by law from collecting a fee. He could, however, accept legacies and "gifts."

MEDICINE, in ancient times, was first practiced by magicians; Hippocrates made it a science. Every Greek city had one or more doctors. The wealthy were cared for in their homes, but there were some hospital beds for serious cases. Metrodorus, who was living in poverty because he had refused all fees, was granted a crown of gold after doctoring twenty years. In 362 A.D., it was ruled that all doctors must pass examinations before receiving a license to practice; and these permits could be revoked if the practitioners did poor work. Professional and medical men were the only functionaries who received fees and had exemption from 1) all forms of municipal services, 2) furnishing lodging for soldiers, and 3) military service.

TEACHING. Quintilian was appointed a professor of Rhetoric at a salary of 100,000 sesterces.

LAURA M. SHOEMAKER

Waupaca, Wisconsin

NOTES

¹ A partial bibliography for this material: Modern Latin Conversation by Robert T. Brown (Heath); "Blackboard Topics of Interest," *Res Gestae* (23 Isabella St., Toronto); various items from the Service Bureau materials on display at the Workshop; Westcott's college text of *Martial's Epigrams*.

² Dr. Fell was a bishop of Oxford, who died in 1686.

³ Yes, you are right; it is the mountain home of the gods.

⁴ One of many variations appeared in THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL, March 1949, page 358: Whom the gods hate, they make a teacher.

⁵ Answer: Man, who creeps on all fours in the morning of life; walks on two feet in the middle or noon of life; and uses a cane in the evening of life.

⁶ "To tie mules to."

⁷ Like the poor lady who has no *bo* (beau) in the future.

⁸ Ah, to be sure — no bit.

⁹ I beg that you elect Publius Furius, a good man, duumvir.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Volume 49 Number 1

OCTOBER 1953

T. S. Eliot and the Alexandrians

IT USED TO BE a commonplace of literary criticism that "The Waste Land" is a pedantic poem, with its seven languages, its seven pages of notes, its reminiscences of Dante, Baudelaire, and the minor Elizabethans. The conventional Eliot might then be compared with the poets of the third century B.C. in Alexandria; especially Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes, with their tendency to hypercriticism, emphasis upon *minutiae*, paraded erudition, cosmopolitanism ("in touch with all cultures, but belonging to none"), and self-consciousness, all of which qualities Eliot might be said to share.

But with the publication of Mr. Cleanth Brooks' well-known analysis of "The Waste Land" ¹ Eliot the pedant becomes Eliot the bearer of the message of hope: the thunderous admonition, "Give, sympathize, control". The scholarly citations are then endowed with a new meaning; it then becomes important whether a quotation comes from the *Inferno* or the *Purgatorio*; the ironic contrast between the London of Spenser and Marvell and the modern Waste Land becomes something deeper than irony; the choice of myths has a significance that goes beyond despair.

These considerations lead inevitably to a reappraisal of the allegedly pedantic Alexandrian poets to whom Eliot has been compared above. If they resemble Eliot superficially, they may possibly resemble him on the second

level also: this paper will contend that they, too, were aware of their Waste Land, that their reactions to it are more sensitive than pedantic, and that the evidence for this view is to be found in Callimachus' choice of myths in his *Hymns*, and in Apollonius' treatment of Homeric similes in the third book of his *Argonautica*.

The atmosphere in which the Alexandrian poets lived and wrote was certainly conducive to pedantry, and to coterie verse. Both artists in exile, Callimachus from Cyrene, Apollonius from Alexandria itself, they worked in the subsidized cloisters of the Museum, the "bird-coop of the Muses" ², surrounded by the hundreds of thousands of scrolls containing the hand-picked best of the great books of classical Greece, aloof from the pulsing life of the great new city founded upon a Waste Land, with its throngs of Phoenician sailors, Jewish merchants, Egyptian priests, Macedonian cavalry, and mercenaries from the farthest corners of the known world. Subsisting upon the bounty of Ptolemy Philadelphus, they were loyalist in politics; surrounded by a library of the best that had been thought and said in the world, they were classicists in literature; faced with the strong emotional appeal of the religion of Isis and Osiris and Serapis, they were conventionalists in religion. The very dialects they wrote in were as stylized as Spenser, and a far cry from the lingua franca of the *koine*—the vulgar Levantine Greek—

which they heard around them: they wrote in the broad Doric of the choruses of tragedy or Alcman's lyrics, as distant from them in time as Pope from Chaucer.

From this background there have come down to us six *Hymns* of Callimachus, four in the conventional Epic dialect of the *Homeric Hymns*, two in literary Doric. The subjects are on the face of it conventional: Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, the sacred island of Delos, the Bath of Pallas Athena, and Demeter. But the thesis here advanced is that the treatment of these subjects is not conventional, but imposed itself upon the poet because of his feeling of the difference between the Waste Land in which he lived and the golden age of a simpler faith which had once appealed directly to the people.

The *Hymn to Zeus* contains none of the high Stoic seriousness of the roughly contemporary work of Cleanthes in Athens. Rather it reflects the speculations of the scholars—the cultural anthropologists, as it were, round the table at the refectory of the Museum—and the flattery of a courtier whose patron is a god. The opening address, to the “god ever mighty, ever Lord, conqueror of the Earthborn, judge of the sons of heaven,”³ sounds like the epithets of a later Ptolemy upon the Rosetta Stone. Like Ptolemy, the precocious Zeus gets the best of his elder brothers; the old poets lie who say the brothers Zeus, Poseidon, and Pluto drew lots for their kingdom; that would imply the kind of democratic equality⁴ which is far from the spirit of Ptolemy's court: Zeus, like Ptolemy, won his kingdom by the might of his arm, and is, like him, Ruler of Cities, *Pantocrator*.⁵ As Zeus and Ptolemy give no divine sanction to political equality, so also they give none in the economic sphere: both are head and shoulders above their inferiors. Both are lightning-swift in their decisions: “At eventide he (Ptolemy) brings to pass whatever he has thought of in the

morning; whatever great things, that is; the minor ones he brings to pass at the moment he thinks of them.”⁶ So may Zeus—or his vicar on earth—grant the poet the reward of his virtue, the riches without which his virtue profits him nothing. This is the poem of a loyalist in politics, to whom his *Roi Soleil* was more real, and more potentially profitable, than a far-off dweller on O'lympus.

The *Hymn to Apollo* reaffirms the poet's faith in his sovereign, even when that sovereign affirms his sway over the poet's native city of Cyrene. The poem was written for a festival celebrating Apollo as founder of Cyrene, an occasion not unlike that which evoked *Murder in the Cathedral*, or Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*. Upon such religious observances hang individual happiness and the preservation of the city-walls upon their ancient foundations. And religion and Ptolemaic rule hang together: “Whoso battles with the blessed gods, let him battle with my King; whoso battles with my King, let him battle with Apollo also.” Like Eliot in “The Journey of the Magi,” Callimachus assumes knowledge of the myth, and expands on the details: the god as raven, guiding the way to Cyrene; his altars banked with spring flowers; his far-darting golden bow—in Homer it is mere silver—drawn against the Pythian serpent. And finally, as god of poets, Apollo rejects the critics who demand of poets surge and thunder rather than the pure trickle of the Callimachean spring. On this note of literary criticism, the by-product of the famous quarrel between Callimachus, who held that a big book was a big nuisance,⁷ and Apollonius, whose epic of the Argonauts runs to nearly 6000 lines, the poem ends.

As the *Hymn to Apollo* celebrates Cyrene, so the *Hymn to Artemis*, it may be, honors the city of Diana of the Ephesians. The piece is a miniature: Artemis is a precocious little-girl goddess, who perches on her father's knee,

calls him pet-names, and begs him archly for exactly sixty nine-year old Oceanids as playmates, and exactly twenty nymphs as maid-servants to take care of her hunting-shoes and her hounds. She is a spoiled child: though she says that as a huntress she cares nothing for cities, her doting father gives her thirteen of them. When she is taken to visit the Cyclops, this terrible three-year old pulls all the hairs out of his chest, and is not, like her playmates, afraid of the terrible wheel-eyed giants and their noisy hammers. The Cyclopes, Callimachus tells us, are used by mother-goddesses as bogeymen when their daughters are disobedient; or Hermes, soot-covered, bursts out at them and makes them cover their eyes with their little hands and dive for their mothers' laps.⁸ Is Callimachus, like the architects and the players of the Middle Ages, on terms of chaffing intimacy with his gods, or would it be more true to say, with Mr. Bowra, that "laughter seldom accompanies a profound feeling of the divine"?

The *Hymn to Delos* is another loyalist poem, written after a catastrophic slump in land values on the island and after its administration was taken over by Ptolemy. Leto, it appears, would have chosen the island of Cos, and not Delos, for her *accouchement*, had not the extraordinarily clairvoyant Apollo cried out from her womb that Cos was reserved for the birth of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the terror of the Gallic invaders. Delos is holy still, the poet says, but it is a far cry from the festivals so lovingly described in the "Homeric" *Hymn to Apollo* to Callimachus' making Hera call the island a fit place for the *accouchements* of seals, or his vignette of the trader of the Aegean flagellating himself around the temple and pausing to bite the sacred olive tree, as the nymphs of old had done to make Apollo laugh.⁹

The last two hymns are in literary Doric; the *Bath of Pallas*, furthermore, is in elegiac couplets, far more

secular in tone than the traditional hexameters. This time the occasion is a festival of the Greek city of Argos; the theme is the cruel one of the blinding of Tiresias, "the most important personage" in "The Waste Land." Athena at the bath is not one for perfumes and mirrors: Aphrodite, nervous about her beauty, may fuss a second time over the same curl, but Athena knows without looking that she is as pink as the morning rose or a pomegranate seed. But no mortal may see her at her bath, even unintentionally; the young huntsman Tiresias is stricken blind. "I am not responsible," Athena tells his mother; "it is the ancient law of Cronus that no mortal may look upon a god unless the god please." She reminds the wretched woman that she is luckier than Actaeon's mother, whose son was to be eaten by Artemis' dogs for a similar *faux pas*. There is further Job's comfort: Tiresias shall be a well-known prophet (of the doom of Oedipus), he shall have a fine great staff, and he shall live to be an old, old man. Even after death he shall retain consciousness¹⁰ (and know that he is blind). It is hard not to see a deep irony in the poet's approach to this harrowing tale.

The final hymn, *To Demeter*,¹¹ may have been composed for a festival instituted by Philadelphus at Alexandria in imitation of one from Athens. The myth in the "Homeric" *Hymn* has the breath of hope in it; Persephone is in the underworld, but she will return; no seed quickeneth except it die, and meanwhile there is crocus to gather in the world below, and hyacinth, roses and lilies and narcissus. But in Callimachus the sinister note is struck from the first; the goddess mother neither eats, nor drinks, nor bathes while she searches for her lost daughter. After a lacuna, we meet the mighty young Erysichthon in the goddess' sacred grove chopping down a poplar with which to build him a feasting hall. Having refused to heed the warning of the goddess in disguise, he is cursed with

insatiable hunger and thirst—for Dionysus joins in the vendetta out of sympathy for Demeter. It takes twenty to serve him food, twelve to pour his wine; his family is ashamed to have him dine out, makes all sorts of excuses; meanwhile he continues his accursed gormandizing, hidden away in an inner room of the palace; his belly grows, but he wastes away like snow on a mountain, or a wax doll—part of some magic spell—in the sun. He literally eats his parents out of house and home: the horses in the stable, the cattle in the pasture, the mules, the prize cow his mother was going to offer to Hestia, goddess of the hearth, the race horse, the war horse, even the tabby cat, that strikes terror into wee creatures—none escaped his remorseless appetite. And in the end, when his substance was exhausted, this king's son was reduced to begging at the crossroads. The poet stops this macabre tale, with its bitter humor, before the end; the prayer for good harvest strikes an ironic note, and the final request for peace, that he who sows may reap,¹² has a sinister ring after the myth that precedes it.

So in the *Hymns* of Callimachus there are many gods but little religion. His Zeus is a temporal monarch; his Apollo has betrayed the poet's native city, his Artemis is a spoiled child, his Delos has moneychangers in its temple, his Athena is a Mrs. Grundy, his Demeter a spiteful witch with a perverted sense of humor. These poems, like Hellenistic art, are a series of genre-portraits: his gods are mortal, but his mortals gods. What he believes in is Ptolemy and the *status quo*; his gods do not vouchsafe to him, as they do to Mr. Eliot, a beatific vision. In his Waste Land he is without comfort from on high. But his choice of myths is not haphazard; still less is it pedantic; rather, given his milieu and his experience, it is inevitable. An alien King, his patron, lords it over his native city, upon whose traditions he therefore cannot draw for strength; the gods of

Greece are puppets of a literary tradition with which he has no emotional link. So, when his deities come alive, they are alive as little, vindictive people, not as vital forces who exalt him and give him strength.

His rival and pupil Apollonius of Rhodes chose to tell in superficially Homeric verse the twice-told tale of Jason, Medea, and the Golden Fleece, with its cold, self-seeking hero, its witch for heroine, and its ill-starred end; a twicetold tale, yet one out of which Vergil distilled the magic of his Dido, for whom St. Augustine chides himself for weeping, because she killed herself for love.

Apollonius' method looks on the face of it like a mere attempt to make a cento from Homer, but an analysis of select passages in their contexts suggests rather that he is deliberately evoking a mood, as Eliot does when at his back from time to time he hears to sound of horns and motors.

The passages chosen all come from the third book, wherein Jason, with Medea's help, sows the dragon's teeth and reaps the deadly harvest. Medea is persuaded only by Eros' arrows to be faithless to her father; Eros must first be persuaded to shoot the arrows. His mother, looking for him, finds him playing knucklebones with Ganymede, and cheating besides:¹³ at once a typical Alexandrian genre vignette and a symbol of love's untrustworthiness which Medea is to discover.

A council of the Argonauts is held, in which Peleus says to Jason, "If you intend to yoke the bulls of Aetes, and yearn for the struggle, you should keep your promise and prepare, but if your soul has no deep confidence in your own strength, do not press on by yourself, nor sit by and peer about after one to take your place, for I at least shall not hold back, since death will be the worst that can befall me."¹⁴ The point here is that the Argonauts have no confidence in their leader; they know that Jason is far from yearning

for the struggle, that he has no self-confidence, and that he is extremely likely to sit by and peer about after a *locum tenens*. The unheroic quality in the hero is pointed up by the fact that the passage quoted is an echo of the *Iliad*, where after some preliminary hesitation in council no less than nine of the heroes, including their leader Agamemnon, vie with one another to see who shall meet Hector in single combat. When the lot falls upon Ajax, he rejoices: ¹⁵ not so the miserable Jason. The contrast seems deliberate, and would have struck with great force an audience that knew its Homer by heart. Jason, then, is a pinchbeck kind of hero, and Apollonius his creator wants us to recognize him as such.

So when Jason comes to the meeting at Hecate's temple, to receive from the lovesick Medea the magic drugs which will accomplish his purpose, there is some presumption that it is only to her loveblinded eyes that he will appear as she sees him, "high striding, like Sirius from Ocean."¹⁶ For one thing, the Dog-Star may be fair to look upon, but he brings ruin to the flocks. For another, the hero in the *Iliad* who is compared to a star rising from Ocean is a real hero, Diomedes.¹⁷ The only Greek who is able to wound even a god. In the same passage of the *Argonautica*, the sight of Jason hurts Medea with desire: "the heart sank from her breast, her eyes were clouded, and a hot blush suffused her cheek."¹⁸ When we turn to the parallel passage from the *Iliad*,¹⁹ and find that it is Agamemnon whose heart sinks, and that is for fear his men may be sleeping on the watch, we have some insight into what Apollonius thinks of romantic love. The comparison of Jason and Medea to mountain oaks or firs, close but quiet in calm weather, stirred to whispering by the wind of love,²⁰ has been much admired, and rightly so, but not only for itself; also for the art with which the Homeric parallel²¹ has been taken: the twin

trees there are Achaean hearts of oak, firm-rooted to keep the Trojans from their wall. One feels that to Apollonius the Homeric situation matters; the one he is describing is trivial, and he tells us so with the art that conceals art.

Medea to Apollonius is no mere lovesick girl; when he tells us that her clothes smell sweet,²² it looks like a mere detail until we note that the Homeric parallel²³ is the dread Helen, "the Hell of men, the Hell of ships, the Hell of cities,"²⁴ or the robe of Achilles,²⁵ fragrant enough to be sure, but smirched with the ashes of his mourning for Patroclus. As the pair simper at each other,²⁶ Apollonius' language borrows with deep irony and bold contrast from Homer,²⁷ whose Achaeans have beneath their brows tears, not smiles, as the Trojans scale their wall and they look upon the prospect of their own destruction.

When the pair part after this meeting, Medea does not expect the path of her love to run smooth, but if Jason forgets her, she expects Rumor²⁸ to come from Greece and tell her so; Rumor²⁹ in Homer has more urgent business; she gathers the host to hear Agamemnon's ill-omened dream, that would send the Argives home without victory from Troy. Medea prays that the storm winds³⁰ will bear her from Colchis to Jason's side, to reproach him if he is unfaithful; these winds blew first in the *Odyssey*,³¹ where Odysseus fears they will keep him from landfall as he escapes from Calypso. Odysseus' fears are groundless, Medea's not; Calypso is a kindly nymph, Medea a witch in league with the powers of darkness. These contrasts would not escape either Apollonius or his ancient audience.

As Jason prepares himself for the struggle with the fire-breathing bulls he is like a pawing war-horse;³² Homer³³ had applied this simile to Paris the fop, whose military millinery had caught Helen's eye and caused all the trouble, and the simile follows imme-

diately upon the moving farewell of Hector and Andromache, one of the most affecting passages in all literature, and one charged with more genuine emotion than all Jason and Medea can muster. Jason awaits the onset of the bulls as steady as a rock in the sea;³⁴ Homer³⁵ reserves this simile for the Greeks steadfastly enduring the onslaught of Hector. The bulls breathe fire as the smith's fire leaps under the bellows;³⁶ in the *Iliad*³⁷ the fire is Hephaestus', as he forges the shield with which Achilles will go out to avenge Patroclus. From the dragon's teeth the warriors spring up as thick as stars after a snowstorm;³⁸ the Homeric parallel³⁹ describes the Trojan watchfires, and is one of the loveliest in the *Iliad*: in Tennyson's translation:

As when in heaven the stars about the
moon
Look beautiful, when all the winds are
laid,
And every height comes out, and jutting
peak
And valley, and the immeasurable
heavens
Break open to their highest, and all the
stars
Shine, and the shepherd gladdens in his
heart:
So many a fire between the ships and
stream
Of Xanthus blazed before the towers of
Troy.

Finally, Jason lays the Earthborn low as a squall from Zeus breaks the roots from new-planted vineyard-shoots.⁴⁰ In the *Iliad*⁴¹ an arrow aimed at Hector misses him, and hits his brother Gorgythion, whose head droops like a poppy heavy with spring rain. In all these similes a struggle that matters is compared with one that does not: the whole Argonautic expedition is forsworn; it succeeds by treachery and will lead only to bitterness and pain for Jason, and an empty triumph for Medea. Even if it be argued that Troy, too, fell by a ruse, and that for Agamemnon his homeward journey did not exactly end in a lover's meeting,

yet one has the impression that Apollonius is in love with the Homeric epic; the parallels he chooses deliberately invite us to see how mean and trifling by comparison is the story he has to tell. This perhaps is the curse of the Alexandrians, that they did not live in a spacious age, but the curse is doubled when we see that they knew they did not.

Both Callimachus and Apollonius deliberately belittle their subjects. When they have cut out from under themselves the ground they stand on, Callimachus has nothing left but Ptolemy; Apollonius at least has Homer. And perhaps this is one of the grounds of their famous quarrel. If so, Apollonius comes off the winner, leaving Callimachus to the consolation of his friendships with kings and scholars, the latter so beautifully remembered in his most famous poem to a scholar-poet now forgotten, his works lost; with a last irony, Callimachus assures his dead friend that song makes immortal:

They told me, Heraclitus, they told me
you were dead;
They brought me bitter news to hear
and bitter tears to shed.
I wept, as I remembered, how often
you and I
Had tired the sun with talking, and
sent him down the sky.

But now that thou art lying, my dear old
Carian guest,
A handful of grey ashes, long, long ago
at rest,
Still are thy pleasant voices, thy
Nightingales, awake,
For Death, he taketh all away, but them
he cannot take.

If, then, the argument here presented has any cogency, T. S. Eliot is an Alexandrian, but in a sense different from that intended by adverse critics of the one and the others. He is Alexandrian in his feeling of the thin trickle to which the great stream of our tradition has been reduced, in his sensitive evocation of the ghosts of our dead past, in his often ironic citation of authors dead and gone. He echoes Calli-

B
Gil
the
he
of
of
ear
and
rus
ter
ly
ing
hea
who
he
mig
gre
boy
spe
leg
idle

ma
cla
and
tion

U

Sir
has
35-14
Hom
prese
mach
(104)
poet
Jason
mant
secur
Apoll
the
objec
of a
deed
clusi
char
draw
to ur
not p
indiv
know
1 In

Edward Gibbon's Utopia

Read before the Ohio Classical Conference, Akron, 1952

BORN IN 1737, the eldest son in an English family of means, Edward Gibbon began his acquaintance with the Latin language at age nine, when, he states, he "purchased the knowledge of the Latin syntax at the expense of many tears and some blood." The earliest authors he "painfully construed and darkly understood" were Phaedrus, whose Latinity he admired for its terseness, and Cornelius Nepos. A sickly boy, a fact he described as not being possessed of "the insolence of health," he was an avid reader, and when arriving at Oxford at age fifteen he possessed "a stock of erudition, that might have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance, of which a school-boy would have been ashamed." He spent fourteen months at Magdalen College, "the fourteen months the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life."

His stay was terminated by his conversion to Roman Catholicism, from which he was reconverted to Protestantism after a five year sojourn in French Switzerland.

In this self-taught, assiduous reader of the Latin classics there was steadily growing the "aspiration to the character of an historian." His mind was inflamed by the historical writings of Montesquieu, David Hume, William Robertson, and by the English Whig writers since the Revolution of 1689, —Swift, Addison, and others, whom he admired for breathing "the spirit of reason and liberty."

In Rome in October, 1764 Gibbon was deeply stirred by the sight of the eternal city.

After a sleepless night, I trod, with a lofty step, the ruins of the Forum; each memorable spot where Romulus stood, or

machus' royalism and Apollonius' classicism; his Catholicism is his own, and to the heirs of the Christian tradition it may seem a greater thing.

PAUL MACKENDRICK

University of Wisconsin

NOTES

Since this article was written, J. F. Carspecken has published (*Yale Classical Studies* 13 [1952] 35-142) a sensitive paper. "Apollonius and Homer," which in part supports the conclusions presented here; e.g., Apollonius' gods, like Callimachus', are ladies and gentlemen of Alexandria (104); Jason is evil (98) and unheroic (107); the poet is cynical about the love affair between Jason and Medea (123); his characters want romantic escape, like true Alexandrians, into the security of a known past (131). But to Carspecken, Apollonius is "perhaps unconsciously, dubious of the Homeric ideal and its worth" (133); the objective correlative Apollonius chooses is a myth of a circular journey, where the joy is not in the deeds but in the return (137). Carspecken's conclusions are drawn mainly from the unheroic character of the hero; those of the present paper, drawn from analysis of Homeric similes applied to unHomeric circumstances, suggest, if they do not prove, that Apollonius sighed for the rugged individualism of a heroic age to whose level he knows his own could not rise.

¹ In "The Waste Land: Critique of the Myth,"

from *Modern Poetry and the Tradition*, Chapel Hill, 1939.

² Timon of Phlius, in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, Book I, 22D.

³ Callimachus is cited from the Budé text edited by Emile Cahen, Paris, 1922. The translations are my own. *Hymn to Zeus*, 2-3.

⁴ *ib.*, 63

⁵ *ib.*, 75

⁶ *ib.*, 87

⁷ The remark is proverbial (Frg. 359 Schneider = 465 Pfeiffer). The closest approximation to it in the surviving fragments of Callimachus is in frg. 160 Schroeder = 1.19 Pfeiffer.

⁸ *Hymn to Artemis*, 70.

⁹ *Hymn to Delos*, 318-324.

¹⁰ *Bath of Pallas*, 129-130.

¹¹ "Homeric" *Hymn to Demeter*, 398-403, 425-430.

¹² *Hymn to Demeter*, 137.

¹³ The *Argonautica* is cited from the text of G. W. Mooney, Dublin, 1912. The translations, as before, are my own. All references are to Book III. The scene of Eros cheating is from III, 119 ff.

¹⁴ 508-514.

¹⁵ *Il.* 10.93.

¹⁶ *Il.* 7.161-199.

¹⁷ 968-972.

¹⁸ 967.

¹⁹ *Il.* 12.131

²⁰ *Il.* 5.5.

²¹ 829-835.

²² 962-963.

²³ *Il.* 14.170

²⁴ Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 689 Sidgwick.

²⁵ *Il.* 18.25.

²⁶ *Il.* 6.506.

²⁷ 1008-1009, 1024.

²⁸ 1294-1295.

²⁹ *Il.* 13.88.

³⁰ *Il.* 15.618.

³¹ 1111.

³² 1299 ff.

³³ *Il.* 2.93.

³⁴ *Il.* 18.470.

³⁵ 1113-1117.

³⁶ 1359.

³⁷ *Od.* 5.291 ff.

³⁸ *Il.* 8.553 ff.

³⁹ 1259-1260.

⁴⁰ 1399.

⁴¹ *Il.* 8.306.

Tully spoke, or Caesar fell, was at once present to my eye; and several days of intoxication were lost or enjoyed before I could descend to a cool and minute investigation.

And, continuing from his autobiography:

It was at Rome, on the 15th of October, 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the bare-footed fryars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind.

From these passages we catch a glimpse of the emotional fervor which drove Gibbon on to write his great *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the first volume of which appeared at London 1776, and which enjoyed, like its successors, impressive success. Gibbon said that copies of it were "on every table and on almost every toilet." The final volume appeared in 1788. In these volumes he single-handedly accomplished the astonishing feat of linking the ancient world with the modern world, of traversing the long era from Augustan Rome to the Renaissance. Half of his stately narrative covers the period from the Principate to the seventh century, especially from 180 A. D. to Heraclius. The second half includes an equally long period of time and many more kingdoms, the Franks, the Ostrogoths, the Lombards, the Bulgars, Magyars, the rise of Mohammedanism, the Holy Roman Empire, the Normans in Sicily and Italy, the Crusades, the Tartars, Slavs, Turks, and Rome in the Great Schism and Renaissance. The second half is not so well proportioned or connected, often giving excessive space to minor incidents and slighting major factors, such as the Byzantine Empire, to tell whose history he said would be "an ungrateful and melancholy task" for the reason that he disliked despotic empires and organized Christianity. His personal preferences caused much distortion of his subject. Yet it is true that without his personal

preferences he probably would not have been able to produce his masterpiece of historiography.

AT THIS POINT, we are confronted with the main problem or dilemma which it is the purpose of this paper to point out. Gibbon had in his mind a utopia, a picture of ideal perfection, a body of timeless and eternally true principles, called Nature, Virtue, Wisdom, or Reason. And holding such ideals gave emotional fervor and drive to Gibbon. We recall the intoxication he felt when he stood in the Roman Forum and first visualized the writing on the decline and fall of Rome. Brought up on the Latin classics, he came to regard the Roman Republic as having been the very incarnation of right principles and hence of happiness. In the Roman Republic he saw his ideal of rule by the natural aristocracy and of a balanced constitution which "united the freedom of popular assemblies with the authority and wisdom of a senate and the executive powers of a regal magistrate." He admired the "honour, as well as virtue" that was "the principle of the republic." The Whig principles of reason and liberty he read into the Roman Republic, which to him taught inspiring lessons of civic virtue and ordered freedom.

Now for an historian to hold an inverted utopianism of this sort is bound to affect the history he writes. The past becomes a series of examples or warnings, teaching timeless truths. Gibbon himself defends the view that the historian owes "to himself, to the present age, and to posterity, a just and perfect delineation of all that may be praised, of all that may be excused, and of all that may be censured." Such a style of writing history is normative rather than genetic. Gibbon did not see history as the genetic or evolutionary study of how we in the present come to be the way we are, how we "got that way." He cannot, with his normative and censorious outlook, see inside the individuality of the persons, ideas, or

institutions he depicts. He must judge the persons, ideas, or institutions by whether they conform to his utopian principles. Gibbon practiced the dictum which Lord Bolingbroke preached, — "history is philosophy teaching by examples." In doing this Gibbon was not alone. Other great historians of his age did the same. Vico set his cycles within a framework of Platonic universals. Winckelmann saw in Hellenic sculpture the perfect principles of proportion, symmetry, and beauty, in the light of which he judged the art of other peoples, times and places. As Winckelmann said in his *History of Ancient Art*:

The History of Ancient Art which I have undertaken to write is not a mere chronicle of epochs, and of the changes which occurred within them. . . . It is my intention to present a system . . . the principal object is the essential of art, on which the history of the individual artists has little bearing.

Similarly, Gibbon had his principles, embodied in the Republic, by the light of which he judged the movements of history—determining whether they conformed to his Classical standards, his belief in the cardinal virtues of the Greco-Roman world.

It is important to realize that Gibbon's utopianism was centered on the Republic rather than on the Empire. There is much misunderstanding on this aspect of Gibbon's utopianism. The misunderstanding is fortified by the frequent quoting, out of context, of the following Gibbonian paragraph:

If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom.

In this same passage, however, Gibbon went on to state that Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines "delighted in the image of liberty" and "deserved

the honour of restoring the republic, had the Romans of their days been capable of enjoying a rational freedom." Moreover, Gibbon spoke of how very few emperors there were "who added lustre to the imperial purple." There is little doubt that Gibbon preferred individual freedom and a system of competing, independent states (as Greece had and modern times have). Despotism of any type he disliked. In his first volume he wrote that the historian should never condescend "to plead the cause of tyrants, or to justify the maxims of persecution." He wrote harshly of Octavian Augustus, calling him a hypocrite. Regarding freedom as the source of public virtue, as "the happy parent of taste and science," "the source of every generous and rational sentiment," Gibbon deplored the fact that Trajan and the Antonines failed to set up a system of representative assemblies, or checks and balances. If this had been done, he wrote, "the seeds of public wisdom and virtue might have been cherished and propagated in the empire of Rome." He even believed that if these reforms in the Empire had been made, the Roman Empire "under the mild and generous influence" of freedom, "might have remained invincible and immortal." Such words strikingly reveal Gibbon's self-assured belief in timeless principles,—his utopianism.

There is much pathos in an historian writing *The Decline and Fall* of an empire he believed might have been "invincible and immortal." In the history of a thousand years he sadly watched the human passions, barbarism and religion, cause his timeless principles to go down to defeat. Out of sympathy with the genius of the Middle Ages because medieval civilization did not conform to the Classical standards and cardinal virtues in which he had been brought up, Gibbon could not build a narrative which was genetic, which moved, and which penetrated the

unique spirit or genius of the Middle Ages. The late Carl Becker has beautifully analyzed this immobility in Gibbon:

In the pages of the *Decline and Fall*, we seem to be taking a long journey, but all the time we remain in one place; we sit with Gibbon in the ruins of the Capitol. It is from the ruins of the Capitol that we perceive, as from a great distance, a thousand years filled with dim shapes of men moving blindly, performing strangely, in an unreal shadowy world. We do not enter the Middle Ages, or relive a span of human experience; still we sit in the ruins of the Capitol, becoming cramped and half numb listening, all this long stationary time, to our unwearied guide as he narrates for us, in a melancholy and falling cadence, the disaster that mankind has suffered, the defeat inflicted by the forces of evil on the human spirit.

One would surmise that a thousand years of defeat for his ideal principles would cause an historian to inquire whether there were perhaps defects in the principles rather than to paint the folly and barbarism of men who perverted or rejected the principles. Perhaps after writing such monumental narrative, Gibbon had no energy left to analyze causes. He was more a descriptive painter of scenes than an analyst of causes, in handling which he was muddled and hesitant. For example, Gibbon could write that "every age of the world has increased, and still increases, the real wealth, the happiness, the knowledge, and perhaps the virtue, of the human race." The account which Gibbon gave of a thousand years simply does not agree with that dictum!

One of the causative forces to which Gibbon assigned great importance was the power of heroes, of strong personalities. "In human life, the most important scenes will depend on the character of a single actor." But he did not portray personalities from within, giving their inner struggle and development. Persons were types. Jargon adjectives were used. A person was credulous, crafty, artful, haughty, intrepid,

profligate, effeminate, pusillanimous. Constantine was a mixture of "rapaciousness and prodigality." As a son of the Enlightenment, Gibbon judged his array of emperors, bishops, prophets and monks in terms of whether they brought happiness to mankind; he felt they usually did not do so because they lacked the right principles of virtue. He saw persons as artfully shaping events by their frauds, impostures, and ambitions. He used this view of human nature to explain the decline of not only the wisdom and virtue of the Republic, but also the retrogression from the Gospel which took place in the history of Christianity. To him the rise of papal authority was largely the result of conscious fraud. Gibbon, then, did not truly know the individuality or uniqueness of persons. Also, he lacked proportion when he wrote about a favorite character. Thus over Julian the Apostate Gibbon became warmly sentimental, characterizing him as "deserving the empire of the world" and devoting one hundred pages to him—space out of proportion to his importance. In his account of Julian's death, Gibbon omitted his famous words, "O Galilean, thou hast conquered," although these words were in the source Gibbon used.

Other causes which Gibbon mentioned for the decline of the Empire, without carefully discriminating the relative importance of each, appear in these passages:

... this long peace, and the uniform government of the Romans, introduced a slow and secret poison into the vitals of the Empire. The minds of men were gradually reduced to the same level, the fire of genius was extinguished, and even the military spirit evaporated.

... the decline of Rome was the natural and inevitable effect of immoderate greatness. Prosperity ripened the principle of decay; the causes of destruction multiplied with the extent of conquest. The victorious legions, who, in distant wars, acquired the vices of strangers and mercenaries, first oppressed the freedom of the republic, and afterwards violated the majesty of the purple.

Sophocles—Politikos

At the convention held at Toronto in 1952, an editors' symposium discussed the necessity of integrating our teaching of classical literature with modern problems, particularly those of statecraft. This article, growing out of such fruitful seeds for discussion and asking some challenging questions, was read at the Cincinnati Convention in 1953.

THE GREEKS in truth had a word for it; although there is, to be sure,

a certain expansive comprehensiveness in some Greek concepts which at times makes them hard to define. Just as in the sphere of ethics the term *hybris*, a composite of pride, effrontery, and arrogance, is the Greek equivalent of six of the Seven Deadly Sins of Christian theology, sloth alone being excepted; and just as the Greek *sophro-*

Gibbon also mentioned Christianity and superstition, the Barbarian invasions, the suicidal conquests of Justinian, and civil wars as causes, but their relationships and relative importance are left obscure. Antagonistic to Christianity, Gibbon nevertheless could see that Christianity "broke the violence of the fall, and mollified the ferocious temper of the conquerors . . . sheltered the poor and defenceless, and preserved or revived the peace and order of civil society." Yet Gibbon was unable to show development within the church, which remained the same in each century. How a religion so static could accomplish benefits he grudgingly conceded it did he failed to answer.

With all his faults Gibbon produced a great and lasting work of art and learning. It was a remarkable feat to span the long era from Augustan Rome to the Renaissance. His ability to do this was rooted in his remarkable sense of system and order. He also derived strength for his task from his sense of membership in and continuity with that Classical culture whose decline he lamented. Had he been more "evolutionary" or relativist, he perhaps would have lacked the vision to produce his masterpiece. Perhaps great histories as well as great tragedies are written only in ages of faith! Gibbon mirrored the Classicism of his century as exquisitely as those whom Gibbon called "the monkish historians" of the Mid-

dle Ages represented "the manners and opinions of their contemporaries; a natural picture, which the most exquisite art is unable to imitate." It has been said that Gibbon was very self-conscious and deliberate in his style. Gibbon said that if he knew anything, he knew himself. Yet has not this analysis of Gibbon shown there are enough inconsistencies in the substance of his remarkable work to cause one to feel that he was perhaps as unconscious of his total outlook as "the monkish historians" were of theirs? He was possessed by Classicism rather than his possessing it as one of several ideals or possibilities of the human spirit.

Gibbon's history is an impressive example of how utopian or absolute values may inspire historiographical creativity, and yet at the same time be powerful causes of distortion. Gibbon's utopianism both caused his greatness and his peculiar style, and yet also underlay his glaring faults, his inability to penetrate the individuality or inwardness of persons, institutions, and great movements like the Byzantine Empire, the Barbarian Invasions, and Christianity, the complexity of which movements far outruns the scope and truth of Gibbon's principles, of Gibbon's dated eighteenth century utopianism.

SHERMAN B. BARNES

Kent State University

syne includes, like the Christian charity, a multitude of other virtues such as moderation, prudence, and chastity, and, like charity, covers a multitude of sins; so, in the realm of political science, the term *politikos* includes our own concepts of the politician, the statesman, and the diplomat. A *politikos* was a man versed in the lore of statecraft, legislative, executive, judicial,—foreign or domestic. We moderns make more subtle distinctions; with us these terms are far from being synonymous. There is a certain aura and odor of the *mustela mephitica* that surrounds the term, politician; the diplomat is conceived as having in him not a little of the astuteness of the *polymêtis* Odysseus; the statesman, like the honored guest, occupies the highest place on the *lectus* at the banquet of government; he is the only one of the three who, like Mary, has chosen the better part, and is the only one who is considered to be a prophet in his own country. The Greek of Periclean Athens, however, combined all these under the title of *politikos*, whenever the herald called to the *bema* whoever had anything salutary to propose for the state.

There is a well-established tradition that the dramatist Sophocles was appointed by Pericles one of the ten Athenian generals in the war with Samos because of the political wisdom he displayed in the writing of the *Antigone*. He was presumed to be *politikotatôs*; an outstanding master of political strategy. America, too, at times, promotes a playwright to a post of distinction, for a Robert Emmett Sherwood became a ghost writer for the American Pericles from Hyde Park, New York. But to return to Sophocles and the *Antigone*: this play may be considered as a political document of no mean importance, a judgment which would seem to be vindicated by the history of the *Antigone* in the 1940's. During the German occupation of France in World War II a French playwright, Pierre

Anhoult, produced in Paris an accurate and faithful modern version of the Sophoclean original, entitled *Antigone and the Tyrant*. The French underground movement thought so highly of the play and to such an extent envisioned *Antigone* herself as martyred France that its agents urged all French people to see the play. The German occupation authorities, on the other hand, seeing in the triumph of Creon the inevitable victory of Hitlerite Germany over a God-believing world, praised the drama highly and did everything but order the enslaved French to attend it. Any story which has such a combined and yet diametrically opposite appeal to such widely divergent political ideologies surely must embody the work of a politician, a diplomat, or a statesman.

Many studies have been made of the *Antigone* to determine which of the two principal characters is the protagonist. There are those who, like the French, believe that the villain of the play is Creon and who see in him the tragic flaw of pride which places his own edicts above those of the immortal gods. For them, *Antigone* is the saint, the heroic martyr who sacrifices herself for family loyalty and religious belief. There are others who, like the Germans, see in Creon the champion of the totalitarian state, and who make *Antigone* the character who possesses the tragic flaw of believing in the worth of her own individuality and not yielding herself to the good of the state. The beautiful choral ode which is delivered immediately before the revelation that someone has broken the edict of Creon, that beautiful ode which asserts in such moving poetry the glory of the freedom, the achievement, and the integrity of the individual man, ends with the solemn warning:

Cunning beyond the dreams of fancy is the fertile skill which brings him at times to evil at other times to good. When he honors the laws of the land and his justice, which he has sworn by, the gods

uphold, his country stands proudly; but he who, because of his rashness, dwells with sin has no country. Never may he share my heart or think my thoughts, if he do these things.

The Greek belief in the prime importance of *sophrosyne*, or moderation in all things, as an all-embracing virtue, with its immemorial history going back to the *meden agan* and the solemn pronouncements of the Oracle at Delphi, has a peculiar result. If we are to do "nothing too much" then we must, as Horace says, beware of becoming too good; it is possible that one can be too perfect a saint, too holy an individual for his own good and for the good of the state. If, then, we are to grant the presence of *hybris* in the person of Antigone, this lack of moderation, this going too far would seem to constitute its essence. And it seems likely that a Greek audience might even approve the collaborationist speeches of Ismene, and might even censure Antigone for allowing her devotion and love for her brother to go beyond the mean. A Greek audience might well feel that an over-zealous championing of the edicts of the gods shows Antigone to be not sufficiently given to that spirit of moderation which should temper the acts of all men in their relations with the gods and their fellow-men.

Creon, on the other hand, in the scene with Haemon has his own brand of *hybris*. He expresses the sovereignty of the state over the rights of the individual, justifying his acts by pointing out that the first place to begin the extirpation of wickedness is in one's own home.

He who does his duty in his own household (he says) will be found righteous in the state also. But if anyone transgresses and does violence to the laws, or thinks to dictate to his rulers, such a one can win no praise from me. No, whosoever the nation appoints, he must be obeyed in small things and great, in just things and in unjust.

A very precise enunciation from Creon of the doctrines: I am the state, and

My Country, right or wrong. To all this Haemon retorts that it is not proper to think that one's own word must always be right. He puts his finger not only on the pride but on the shallowness of the dictator in time of crisis or adversity, when he says:

If any man thinks that he alone is wise, that in speech or in intellect he has no peer, such a soul when laid open is ever found empty. No, though a man be wise, it is no shame for him to learn many things and to bend in season.

The outcome of the drama is also significant. Creon, on the advice of Teiresias, has relented and decided to free Antigone from the tomb. He orders his servants to take axes and hasten to where she has been buried alive, and states that he himself will be present to release her. We are led to believe that Antigone will be saved and that the justice of individual piety will be vindicated. But when the messenger returns to bring the news of what has happened, we discover that first the party stopped to bury the unburied corpse, which had been the cause of the entire tragic complication. As a result the king did not get to the tomb before Antigone had hanged herself and Haemon had made the gruesome discovery. We are led to conclude that because Creon chose to do first things first, to eradicate the cause of the present evil, he was too late to succeed in the more urgent task of freeing Antigone. Thus, in the management of states, a first error may take so long to be corrected, and attention to dead issues may so engross the ruler, that great harm will come upon the state through the neglect of living issues and of things closer at hand. In an excess of zeal to do honor to the dead, Creon slighted the living; for a government to dally with past mistakes and not proceed to instant action on current needs, may prove equally fatal.

Calamity piles upon calamity for Creon. His son becomes a suicide after falling victim to an attack on the fathers. His

wife, hearing of this, stabs herself at the altar after invoking evil fortune upon Creon as the slayer of her sons. At the end Creon stands alone amid the ruins, with nothing but his kingship and his power. He has lost all that are dear to him, and is conducted into the palace with the wails of the chorus leader ringing in his ear:

The mighty words of prideful men are ever punished with great blows and, in old age, ever teach wisdom to those that are chastened.

It is small wonder that the French underground would applaud such an end for the ruthless occupier of their country; and conversely, it is equally understandable that the Gestapo, with its callousness, would recommend that the French see precisely what happens to anyone who dares to resist a dictator or sympathizes with such.

Sophocles, however, was not writing a play for modern Europe. In what respect was he a *politikos* for Athens, and in particular for its *tyrannos*, Pericles? The Athenian commonwealth has been fully defined, described and eulogized as the great birthplace of democracy — the place where every citizen had an excellent mathematical chance of getting into the government some time during his normal life. Sophocles, however, has laid his play at Thebes, capital city of the "Boeotian swine," — a city identified with backwardness, reaction, and tyranny, the city which Euripides, in *The Suppliants*, pictures as the antithesis of Athens under Theseus. How then can Sophocles propound a political policy for the citadel of democracy by putting his story in the city of tyranny? Is it perhaps a simple picturing of what happens under one-man rule, and can the Athenian say to himself: "There, but for the grace of Solon and Cleisthenes, go I?"

Or is the answer not so obvious? Despite the enormous amount of scholarship expended on the Athenian democracy, the temptation is strong to draw an analogy between the Fascism of Hit-

lerite Germany and the democracy of Periclean Athens. Although accurate population ratios are unavailable, still a relatively small portion of the population was in possession of all civil and political rights, whether in Berlin or in Athens. Various estimates place the ratio of slaves to freemen in ancient Athens at anywhere from 2-1 to 4-1, and in the days of Pericles this relatively small free population constituted the Athenian democracy. It is significant also to note that just as the Nazi party members were intimately bound to the Party, so the free members of the Athenian state were intimately bound to the government through the abundant job opportunities in governmental work, in the organization of the *Boule* with its various *prytanies*, in the large and ever present juries, and in the great popular assembly.

In the much quoted memorial oration in Thucydides, Pericles gives us a picture of Athens as seen by himself, its greatest leader. Throughout the oration there is a glorification of the Athenian state; Athens is, he cries, "the school of Hellas"; the good and the happiness of the individual is identified with the good and happiness of the state. The good citizen is the useful citizen, the man who is willing to give of his talents to the state. "We alone", he says, "regard the man who takes no part in public affairs, not as one who minds his own business, but as good for nothing." And the dead have not died in vain, for Athenians must, he says,

daily fix your gaze upon the power of Athens and become lovers of her, and when the vision of her greatness has inspired you, reflect that all this has been acquired by men of courage, who knew their duty and in the hour of conflict were moved by a high sense of honor.

At this point we cannot help thinking of the words which Sophocles puts into the mouth of Creon:

If anyone thinks more of his dear ones than of his fatherland, that man has no praise in my regard. . . . I would never

deem the foe of my country a friend to myself, remembering this, that our country is the ship that bears us safely and that only while she prospers in our voyage can we make true friends.

Is it possible that in producing the *Antigone*, written probably about 442 B. C., at a time when the imperialism of Pericles was approaching its zenith, Sophocles is creating Creon as a portrait of what Pericles might become? Is he warning Pericles that there are limits beyond which man-made laws cannot go? Certainly he has *Antigone* declare:

It is right to transgress the law because it was not Zeus that published this edict. Not such are the laws set among men by that Justice which dwells with the gods below. (She denies that:) a mortal could override the unwritten and unfailing statutes of Heaven. For their life is not of today or yesterday, but from all time, and no man knows where they were first put forth.

Is Sophocles, then, giving moral advice to the Athenian *tyrannos* in the same strain as that which Solon gave to the Lydian Croesus? Is he stressing the point that, though the laws of the country must be enforced, a too great rigidity in such enforcement would result in irretrievable loss of all that the tyrant holds dear? To set up oneself as a counselor of the great, to counsel the dictator to observe that even balance between power and resignation which the exercise of *sophrosyne* demands, to demand reverence for the divine from the monarch in the midst of his material prosperity—such are the distinct marks of a statesman. Can it be that Sophocles was such a statesman?

If we examine the extant dramas of Sophocles, we find that, with the exception of the *Trachiniae*, the other six plays are all named after one character. In five of these plays there is no question concerning the identity of the principal character; he is the individual for whom the play is named. In other words Sophocles has written plays of the so-called "star" type, in which the action revolves more or less exclu-

sively around the principal character who gives his name to the play. Let us look at the situation of the *Antigone*, a play in which there is the possibility of either of two characters being the protagonist. If now Sophocles considered *Antigone* as his principal character, then he is implicitly stating that disaster comes upon those who obey the gods,—an unthinkable conclusion in view of Sophocles' avowed reverence for the gods on every occasion. If, on the other hand, Sophocles considered Creon the principal character, then a disrespect for the edicts of the gods is fittingly punished. Sophocles, however, could have feared that his picture of Creon might be identified as a portrait of Pericles, either by disaffected elements among the people or by the great man himself. If, then, he had entitled his play, the *Creon*, he would deliberately have called attention to the fact that Creon is the main character, with the possibility of himself being considered an open censor of the policies of the state. Is it too romantic to suppose that Sophocles wrote a *Creon*, but called it an *Antigone*? Would not such a feat be worthy of Odysseus of the many wiles? Would such a procedure not be in the realm of diplomacy, not political wisdom of a high sort thus to cloak his warnings to the Athenian dictator?

The politician establishes the policy of his state, and in this latter day your leading politician is bi-partisan; Sophocles presents a bi-heroic or dual protagonist. The statesman extends the vision of the politician to broader horizons; Sophocles extends the vision of his characters beyond even the international horizon, into the realm of the gods. The diplomat is the astute man of statecraft, somehow related to that famous son of Sisiphus, a man of double talk; did Sophocles write a *Creon* or an *Antigone*? At any event you must admit that he stamped himself a *politikos* of no mean rank.

D. HERBERT ABEL

Loyola University of Chicago

NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 124 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

Pro Patria—A Note

HORACE'S FAMOUS line, from *Odes* III, 2, *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* is possibly a little too familiar. When we see the line out of context, we are very likely to assume, I suspect, that this is the full diapason of patriotism. We have forgotten temporarily those delicate discords that hover around the line, those particularly Horatian overtones. Putting the line back in its stanza—for such is the modest scope of this note—may be as pleasant a reminder for other people as it has been for me.

As everyone knows, Horace immediately emphasizes his aphorism by a contrast:

mors et fugacem persequitur virum
nec parcat inbellis iuventae
poplitibus timidoque tergo.

Horace condemns cowardice to praise bravery. Such indirection is familiar, in both good and bad art: Dante portrays Hell in order to lead us to Heaven, and so frequently does a less poetically gifted minister. The patriotism of line 13 is supported by lines 14-16, at least in part.

The picture of cowardice is caught sharply by the following translation:

Blessed who for his country dies—
Blessed and honoured! Pitiless Death
Spare not the coward slave who flies,
The trembling limbs, the panting breath.

(Sir Stephen de Vere, in *Odes of Horace in English Verse*, collected by H. E. Butler. London, 1929, p. 153)

But is this not a little too vigorous? The cowardice is overemphasized, for after all Horace suggests cowardice more by the physical images offered than by moralising adjectives. At worst, we see a *fugacem virum* whom we ourselves judge to be cowardly, as of course we are meant to. The back is bent cravenly, to be sure, but it is also

bent pitifully. It is the back of *iuventae*, merely *inbellis*, with *timidoque tergo*. The adjectives here are narrowed too sharply if translated "cowardly".

This compassion is faint; it does not disturb the outward assertion of patriotism, and does not logically conflict with it. Horace holds his patriotism with a humane sophistication, for he too has a sense of *lacrimae rerum*. This sense is not entirely lacking in the above translation where an adjective is gratuitously supplied for death—pitiless. And in truth, if Horace does not name death as pitiless, he creates an effect of pity.

But death is pitiless in another sense, and this further implication has been less clearly noticed, I believe. It is indeed a delicate one, no more than a faint whiff of what we may call nihilism: death destroys all, regardless of merit. When we read "and death pursues the fleeing man," can we avoid adding, "and also the one who doesn't run"? Again, some translations have captured Horace's suggestion:

Es folgt ja auch dem fluechtigen Mann
der Tod;

Er schent auch nicht der feigen Jugend.

(Horaz, R. Helm, Stuttgart 1938, p. 56.)

. . . la mort rejoint tout aussi bien le
lâche dans sa fuite . . .

(Horace, F. Villeneuve, Paris 1927 2 v. I, 97.)

"Ja auch," "tout aussi bien"—the copulative is stressed. Good and bad are linked to death on equal terms. Death is given a dark prominence; it is active; it is the grammatical subject and it *persequitur*. The prefix *per*, with its sense of completion, suggests a death more interested in killing than in punishing, a ruthless death that *nec parcat*.

The faint suggestion is given a little

more substance in the last stanza:

... saepe Diespiter
neglectus incesto addidit integrum

Fair and foul are often confounded,
although the foul is usually punished:

raro antecedentem scelestum
deseruit pede Poena claudo.

What we have then is a patriotic
poem, surely one that asserts a tradi-

tional moral position, but with sad quavering overtones of an amoral nihilism. Such a philosophical division is typical of Horace. It seems to me singularly appropriate that in the background of a noble ode to patriotism, Horace permits us to catch the soft, but persistent, echoes of nil admirari.

WILLIAM SYLVESTER

Kansas State College

TROAS, RELIQUIAS DANAUM ATQUE IMMITIS ACHILLI (Aen. I, 30)

IN ONLY two textbooks of the *Aeneid*, out of twelve commonly used in the secondary field, do I find the reading *reliquias* for *reliquias*. The only reason for this note is the explanation offered by the authors for their reading. Incidentally, there is no manuscript evidence, to my knowledge, that the archetype contained the spelling *reliquias*.

In C. E. Bennett's (Allyn & Bacon) textbook the note is: "*reliquias* is a poetic form for the customary *reliquias*, which, owing to its three short syllables, could not stand in hexameter verse." In Clyde Pharr's (D. C. Heath) the note reads: "*re(1)liquias*: sometimes spelled with *ll*, as here, making the first syllable long so that the word may be used in hexameter verse."

By merest chance, while digging out some moss-covered papers, I ran across my own translation of Aelius Donatus' *Ars Grammatica Maior*, done in the summer of 1913 at the University of Missouri as partial requirement of the M.A. degree, under the late Walter Miller, and at the instigation of Jesse Wrench.¹ Under the title "On Barbarism," Donatus says, in part, "Barbarism occurs in two ways, by pronunciation and by writing. Under these two divisions four (sic) classes find headings, addition, subtraction, exchanging and transmutation of letter, syllable, element of time, accent, and rough breathing. Barbarisms are produced through the addition of a letter, as

though we said *reliquias Danaum* when we ought to pronounce *reliquias* with one *l*."

Now, *barbarism* is defined² as "the use in a language of forms or constructions felt by some to be undesirably alien to the established mode or custom of the language." The Greeks are supposed to have been the first people to brand an undesirable foreign term in the works of their writers as a *barbarism*. And it seems to me a reasonable assumption that Vergil was too good a scholar to write *reliquias* for *reliquias* and invite the criticism of the Varros of his day. Further, Donatus must have had authoritative copies of the *Aeneid* on his desk, and if Vergil had written *reliquias*, he would have mentioned the fact.

Let us say, then, that writing *reliquias* is one way of accounting for a normally short syllable—an ugly way—when the metre demands a dactyl instead of a tribrach. And Donatus says we should not pronounce the word as if spelled with two *els*. How would he have taught the schoolboy of his day to pronounce it? I think he would have first quoted Lucretius:

(a) *reliquias vitae membris ex omnibus aufert* (R. Nat. VI, 825) and then two examples from the *Aeneid* to show another shackle of the metre that a poet could break when he needed to:
(b) *unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei*? (I, 41)
(c) *Obstipui, steteruntque comae, et*

vox faucibus haesit (II, 774) and explain as in (a) what we have since termed *diastole*³ and in (b) and (c) *systole*. I have no doubt that he would call attention to the pronunciation as *ray-li-qui-as*, not *rel-li-qui-as*.

Lest we seem to make much ado about nothing, we might indulge in this much emphasis: the initial quantity of *reliquias* may be lengthened by the metrical device, *diastole*, without resorting to the barbarism of doubling the *els*.

DORRANCE S. WHITE

University of Iowa

NOTES

¹ Said at the time by Professor Wrench (for undignified nickname cf. *TIME*, June 1, 1953), an instructor in History, to have been the first translation ever made in this country of this dismal and unexciting work on Grammar.

² American College Dictionary (Harper's).

³ I think that Charles Knapp in his edition of Vergil's *Aeneid* (1900) is wrong about the lengthening of the syllables before *-que* in (1) IV, 146, (2) VII, 186, (3) VIII, 425, (4) XII, 181. In (1) the first syllable before *-que* is long by "common" quantity before the mute and liquid *dr*; and again before *fr*; in (2) it is short before the mute and liquid *-ci*; in (3) the first is long before *st*; in (4) the first is long before *fl*, the second is short in a dactyl, and the third elides into *ae*. Incidentally, among some half dozen Latin Grammars, the Hale-Buck, under "Pronunciations Peculiar to Poetry" (651-654) deals with the subject in the only intelligible way.

NOTICES

This volume is being printed by more experienced printers with a much larger plant. Prompt distribution is expected. Contributors must be told that Greek script (always a headache) is not regularly available. If it is desirable to reproduce from a 'fair copy' furnished a consecutive passage of some length, that can be done photographically. But in general transliterate unless previous arrangements have been made. Numerous very brief notes should be avoided by numbers in parentheses in the body of the article. Copy for notes also double-spaced. *Keep a carbon of your paper*; copy will no longer be sent with proofs. If contributors fail to return copy and corrected proof promptly, editor and printer are seriously hampered in proof-reading and correction by not having copy to consult. Since we try to begin major articles on right-hand pages, dislike to cut them off and continue them on later pages, and have almost no filler; contributors might bear in mind that four or eight (or twelve?) double-spaced pages of copy (or a

little more) tend to print up conveniently in half as many pages of type. Perhaps it is unrealistic to expect authors so to help us in the make-up; but there can be parts of papers which are optional, and considerate contributors sometimes indicate that certain paragraphs *may* be omitted if necessary. It saves trouble if checks for amounts figured from the scale on cover II are sent with reprint orders. If any reprints are still desired from volume 48, they will be provided through the former printers.

If teachers like the extended "Teacher's Scrapbook" in this issue, numerous reprints could be provided at modest cost of those six pages as a sort of Latin Week Bulletin, probably without covers for convenience in mailing. While we can no longer afford to broadcast these free, Miss Martin would cooperate if numerous orders are received.

A useful SCHOOL CALENDAR, at 10c, shows national, Jewish, and Christian holidays. This should be convenient for teachers planning work and tests, if they have pupils of various faiths. It is one of those generous gestures Jewish leaders often make; any profits go to a worthy cause. Order from COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE, 386 4th Ave., New York 16, N.Y.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN

BOOKSELLER

2031 WALNUT STREET

PHILADELPHIA 3, PA.

**BOOKS IN
LATIN & GREEK**

and

works relating to
classical antiquity
bought and sold

Send for free catalog

Greek Transitional Sculpture:

An Appraisal

FOR MANY YEARS we have honored and venerated Greek sculpture of the Golden Age and Hellenistic periods. Today, however, because of changes in aesthetic emphasis, we are coming to recognize more fully the artistic values inherent in archaic and semi-archaic art. We are finding too that the application of modern theories of appreciation to Greek art not only helps us to expand our grasp of the Classical period as a whole, but, in addition, helps us to understand the art of our own day.

Perhaps the chief reason for the popularity of later Greek sculpture is that it is more naturalistic than Archaic and Transitional sculpture and is, therefore, more compatible with our inherited Nineteenth Century concepts of aesthetic value. Another reason may be the misconception that Greek art "developed" or "improved" slowly through the centuries until a final perfection was attained. Depending upon individual preference, those who hold to this theory believe that the apogee arrived either in the Golden Age or in Hellenistic times. The extremely literal-minded will choose the later period.

Modern aesthetic thought rejects both the theory of the supremacy of naturalism in art and the theory of artistic development, and it suggests that the sculpture of the Archaic and Transitional periods may be more artistically stimulating and vital than that which was produced later.

We now recognize the fact that we can no longer ignore the artistic values intrinsic in the art of the earlier years. Numerous disclosures have been made available to us explaining the sophisticated elements in primitive and archaic art, and it now becomes clear that to consider these works inferior or immature is to admit a lack of knowledge of the basic problems with

which every sculptor is confronted. Archaic works often disclose subjective points of view which make them acceptable as great art and we are now in a position to look at them in terms of their own values instead of having to compare them with standards of excellence which, however popular in other periods of history, are now recognized as being extremely limited in scope.

Art with archaic overtones (like that of the Transitional period) is appreciated today especially for its qualities of directness and abstract form. Directness is evident in its simplicity and its honest approach to the limitations of the medium. The appeal of its abstract design arises out of a sensitive and efficient use of the elements of form, i.e., mass, line, texture, volume in space, and inventive detail. These are fundamentals basic to the technique of sculpture in all ages and we now recognize them as such.

Also, today we tend to stress the intuitional aspect of works of art in preference to those integrants of a rational or intellectual nature. We realize now that extremely "naturalistic" art subordinates the imaginative powers potential in human creative activity. The study of art throughout history seems to point to the fact that art has usually been concerned with emotional expression, i.e., with the artist's feelings about the world in which he lives—not with merely a literal statement of his visual experience. According to current belief, a work of art must, by its very nature, transcend all rules. It should be a unique expression of the artist's personality and there should be no attempt, therefore, to produce it by formula or scientific calculation. Propositions which can be proved by measurement and calculation are ordinarily related to the specialized field of science. The scientist

is careful to relegate to the background any emotional responses he may feel. He considers these unreliable for his purposes—and they are. So, in this respect, science is not art, and conversely, art is not science. As yet, the psychologist has failed to show us how to produce a significant work of art, although he has furnished us with valuable clues as to the character of our response both to nature and to a work of art. The scientific attitude is basically intellectual and rational, whereas we feel today that art should be basically personal and imaginative. Because naturalistic art can be proved by measurement and calculation, i.e., by comparison with the actual object in nature, it must be recognized as essentially intellectual and scientific. In its imperious concern with an exact imitation of objective reality it subordinates the intuitionally-responsive side of human existence. This "rational" concept of art has, in the past, always resulted in emotionally penurious and coldly intellectual works which, although they may show proficiency from the point of view of craftsmanship, are nevertheless devoid of the intensity of feeling found in the greatest art throughout the ages. If art is "irrational" in this respect its very irrationality may help to explain its roots in human emotion and its subsequent highly personal character. Another fact which upholds this point of view is that when an artist attempts to copy another's work it is manifestly impossible for him to suppress his own individuality. This, of course, helps the expert to recognize forgeries and it helps, too, to explain the contemporary concept that the emphasis in a work of art should lie in the *personal interpretation* of the artist—not in an attempt to achieve a mechanical copy of nature.

Greek figure sculpture before approximately 450 B.C. is not overly concerned with scientifically measurable proportions or with exact reproductions of physical reality. However

"crude" the works of the early periods are, in relation to Nineteenth Century standards, they nevertheless represent profound emotional statements concerning the artist's feelings about the world—more so, we maintain, than works produced in the later periods.

It should be made clear before we proceed that we do not use the term "emotion" in the popular meaning of the word. We do not refer to the representation of physiognomical or other violent muscular contractions *for their own sake* which are sometimes mistakenly considered signs of emotion in a work of art. The emotional factor arises out of a response to the elements of form in the work of art—not from recognition of the meaning of the facial grimaces or the physical contortions of the human subject-matter. Our use of the term "emotion" refers to *inner states of mind* experienced and expressed by the artist and empathically responded to by the contemplator through the form of the work of art itself. "Emotion" as an artistic term then is analogous to the term "*inner-feeling*." Thus, we might say that art can express the inner feelings of the artist when he turns his attention to the external world. Or, to put the statement in other words, the work of art expresses emotional, i.e., subjective and intuitive, responses by *interpreting the essence* rather than *copying the appearance* of the objects in nature.

It is easy to submit to the false conclusion that the archaic or primitive artist *desires to but does not have the ability to make a direct copy of nature*. The truth is that he is not interested in doing so because that is not his purpose. Primitive art may serve the various functions of magic but one thing it does not do is try to imitate natural forms exactly. We must guard against thinking of the archaic or primitive experience in terms of our own. The artist who has never come in contact with a naturalistic tradition simply does not think of artistic expression in naturalistic terms. This does not mean that he

lacks the intellectual equipment or the ability to develop the skill necessary to do naturalistic work. It merely means that he is interested in things more important to him than ordinary visual observation—things more in tune with his own particular social environment. In the case of the human figure in Transitional sculpture we might say that his interpretation *represents* a human figure but does not pretend to *imitate* one. If the early Greek sculptor also tried to represent a God, it is obvious that he thought of his Gods in human form; but this fact in no way changes his original artistic concept.

Extreme naturalism in art is a peculiarly Western manifestation and does not necessarily indicate a more sophisticated point of view when compared with art in other parts of the world or in different periods in history. Art does not "develop." Instead, concepts change. There is a fallacy in equating *development* in art with *improvement*. If art "developed" it would be easy to prove that the art of any one period, the Renaissance for instance, was more profound than Greek art because it came at a later date; or that Nineteenth Century art was greater than either. Art, as a mirror of social trends, reflects the underlying concepts of its own time. To believe that art "improves" as time goes on is to ignore the facts. What should improve is our appreciation of art. It is true that the history of art shows periods of ascent and decline, but the periods of greatest creativity do not necessarily coincide with the last periods of a cultural evolution. In the case of Greek art, to maintain that the late periods were aesthetically superior to earlier periods is to admit a lack of sensitivity to the aesthetic values we now recognize in the earlier art.

We should mention that there is a difference between "realistic" and "naturalistic" art. Naturalistic art, as we have indicated, is wholly interested in observation and description of fact,

while it rejects the element of creative imagination. Hellenistic art would serve to illustrate this narrow concept, and so would much of the art of the Nineteenth Century in Europe, which was also of an extremely literal type. On the other hand, realistic art can make great use of the element of creative imagination, provided the realistic aspect is subordinated to the more significant factor. The Greek Transitional period furnishes excellent examples of this more profound type of realism because, like other great periods of realistic or semi-realistic art, the emphasis in the works is placed on interpretive or imaginative values. In works of a realistic nature we find that these interpretive values are not aided or strengthened by the piling on of irrelevant detail. In fact, the opposite is true. Irrelevant detail may actually detract from whatever significance exists in the relationships of the components of form. This may help to explain the modern regard for archaic and semi-archaic art.

In art, as in life, there is an interaction between intellect and intuition, i.e., "thought" and "feeling." In some aspects of active existence thought plays the dominant role. In art production and appreciation feeling is more important. Simple recognition of subject-matter in a work of art is mainly an intellectual response, and there is evidently a psychological satisfaction derived from it. For this reason there are many persons today who subscribe to the theory that the most profound and satisfying art is that which makes an efficient use of *both* elements of the inter-action. However, because of the now widely accepted view which stresses the importance of the interpretive element, as discussed above, it is perhaps better if the balance is weighted on the side of the intuitive factor. Greek sculpture before c.450 B.C. represents this point of view in essence. Later, the balance tips decidedly on the side of scientific ration-

alism. One might, however, reply that Greek Idealism was, in itself, a subjective concept. This is true, but in sculpture the concept became more rational than intuitive, as can be seen in such intellectual ideals as the "Canons" of Polykleitos which attempted to reduce the original subjective ideal to a mechanical formula. Again, the argument revolves around the matter of emphasis. Realistic art can be significant if the original concept is intuitional and if the artist *retains* this concept in the production of the work. In the sculpture of the Transitional period we sense an equilibrium between the elements of feeling and intellect. In later periods this equilibrium is upset by a concern with mathematical proportions and accidental surface effects.

The term "Transitional" is misleading when applied to the art of the period. The word implies inferiority to the past as well as to that which comes later. We can confidently say that, more than being merely a tide-over period between the Archaic and Golden Age styles, it was a time when works were produced equal to those of any other period in quality, originality, and creative force.

We have space to mention only a few well-known works which show the greatness of the creative expression of these early years.

The *Strangford Apollo*, although it represents a move away from some of the more abstract archaic mannerisms, does retain, however, the emotional impact deriving from an efficient use of abstract forms. We do not feel that the characteristic hardness and brittleness of the stone has been forced beyond its basic potentialities. The forms are monumental in conception, the planes are simple, and this Kouros figure remains a representative of a nude male youth — not a direct copy of a living person.

The Kore figure, dedicated by Euthydikos, and found on the Athens Acropolis, also shows the quality of

sensitive restraint. The drapery detail has been carved so that it describes the forms beneath but does not pretend to fool the spectator into thinking that it is real cloth. It clings to the figure and by subtle means combines with the larger mass of the torso so that the figure becomes a combination of three simple forms; the hair mass, the face, and the torso. True, the extreme rigidity of the archaic style has been somewhat relaxed, but those abstract elements which make archaic art so profound remain to give vigor to the new, more realistic, rendition.

Although sculpture of the type of the two examples mentioned indicates new directions suggesting the realism to follow, the important thing to note is that these new elements have not yet progressed to the point where the stone sculptor loses sight of the fact that the material with which he works has certain limitations which cannot be denied and which should be respected despite his greatly developed anatomical knowledge and technical facility. Modern critics often speak of the artist being "true to his medium." The stone and bronze sculpture of the early Fifth Century is at just that juncture where there is a balance between form and material. This is one of the reasons why it is perhaps the most aesthetically satisfying period in Greek sculpture and why it carries such great prestige in current art appreciation.

NOTE:

It is hard to reconcile the modern concern with the integrity of the material and the Greek practice of painting the surface of stone sculpture. We are forced to accept this fact because traces of paint on extant sculpture indicate that it was a wide-spread practice. But the surface texture, although important, is only part of the concern with the material. Other factors relate to the strength and vigor and monumentality of the forms themselves. Transitional sculpture satisfies these requirements although the surface may have been destroyed by the application of paint. We cannot help but feel, however, that an aesthetic value may have been sacrificed by this habit. If only certain parts were painted it is possible that Greek sculptors also sacrificed some of the unified effect we feel today now that the paint has weathered away and the surface is shown in its uniform color and texture.

When we study masterpieces like the *Ludovisi Throne* (so-called), we must marvel at the artist's ability to restrain his budding virtuosity in technical matters. Although its greatest appeal arises out of the balanced design of its line and mass, expressed by its swinging rhythms and counter-rhythms, we must also appreciate the mastery with which the sculptor has solved such problems as the showing of transparent drapery by means of stone carving. It has been accomplished successfully here without sacrificing the inherent quality of the stone. The efficient use of the space allotted to the design and the dignified simplicity and organic unity, born of archaic restraint, combine to make this work one of the most handsome pieces in the entire history of Greek sculpture.

In the *Harmodios* and *Aristogeiton* statues we find different factors at work and a somewhat greater step toward the use of anatomically realistic detail. In contrast to the quiet and moderate forms of the foregoing relief, here we find figures in the round expressing impetuous action and intense vitality. Important is the admirable way in which the muscles are used to indicate the form and the tension under which this violent action takes place. And yet they do so without becoming too involved in meaningless particulars. The muscular anatomy is in evidence, certainly, but there is also a unity in each figure which derives from subordination of the detail to the larger volume, i.e., the figure itself as it exists in space. Here again, we find that master principle of the art of the first half of the Fifth Century—organic unity obtained through the use of restrained and controlled realism.

The *Apollo* figure from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia seems to rest his weight on one leg more than the other, thus exemplifying again the trend toward greater relaxation of pose. The arms, chest, and abdomen are carved quite realistically and

the drapery lies in well-organized but comfortable folds across the right shoulder and the left arm. The head retains certain archaisms of a purely imaginative nature: e.g., the stylized pattern of the hair, the rather protruding eyes, the simplified eyelids, etc., but the planes around the cheeks and mouth have been modelled more realistically. Realism cannot go much further without running the risk of ignoring the essential characteristics of the stone and attempting the futile and undesirable task of trying to imitate the soft elasticity of real flesh.

As we reach the lower chronological limit of the period we find that the representation of the anatomical structure of the human body has, in keeping with the trend, become an even greater interest to the sculptor. But the archaic past is not so far behind that the sculptor has lost all contact with those traditional elements which call for truth to the concept of unity over variety—an aesthetic principle which was completely submerged in the Hellenistic period when there was such an over-emphasis upon insignificant minutiae.

In the work of Myron we find the culmination of the principles which make up the trends observable in Transitional sculpture. Here we find a master designer and a skilful craftsman. If we can trust the veracity of the various Roman copies of his *Diskobolos* we can recognize that here was an artist who was capable of combining the most advanced anatomical researches of his contemporaries with the best elements of the past. But if his work is a consummation it is also a point of departure. The road is opening up ahead toward an even greater realism leading ultimately to extreme naturalism, and, according to contemporary taste, the farther the sculptor goes in this direction the less discrimination, vigor, unity, and meaning remain in his work.

ROBERT R. HARRISON

State University of Iowa

We See By The Papers

Edited by John F. Latimer

Five Million Americans

And there may be more!

This is not the number of Americans who bought bubblegum last year or went to the races. Significant as those figures might be to sociologists and others, "five million," — and the number is certainly *plus* — is a more significant figure. It represents the total circulation of thirty-three newspapers in which editorials and letters appeared on the inexhaustible subject, "WHY STUDY LATIN?"

Many readers of this column may not have read any of the original editorials *in situ*. The geographical distribution of the latter, wide-spread as it was, did not begin to cover the whole country. This is unfortunate and perhaps a trifle revealing. The tally shows that New England, like Abou Ben Adam, led all the rest with a newspaper coverage of thirteen different cities from four different states. The total number of newspapers was sixteen.

Other parts of the country did not fare so well. The Far West was not represented at all. The Middle Atlantic region had seven newspapers in six cities from four states; the Middle West, seven newspapers in seven cities from four states, and the South, three newspapers in three cities from three states, if the District of Columbia may be so dignified.

Twenty-seven cities out of — how many? and only fifteen out of the forty-eight states! Commendable as the spread was for such a laudable undertaking, what about the millions of unedified newspaper readers in the classical territory of thirty-three states? Shall they be left to wither on the vine in semi-barbaric ignorance of an incipient revival — or what with their support could become a revival of classical studies? Absit dread thought! Let all teachers and other enlightened humanists jump into the breach. If you have not yet seen the pamphlet, *Why Study Latin in School?*, get a copy (or several, at \$0.25 apiece) from "Teachers of Classics in New England," Widener Library 690, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts. Send one to each of your local newspapers with a request for editorial comment. When an editorial appears, send a copy of it to the address given above, and indicate the paper's circulation. The in-

terest aroused by the editorials already written has exceeded the most optimistic hopes. The time would appear to be conducive to further and continued action. All editorial roads may not lead to Rome, but many writers retain fond memories of the Appian Way, and they are encouraging the youth of America to travel its fruit-laden course. We teachers can do no less than help other editorial writers do the same.

Answers

Just as each generation needs a fresh approach to the great masterpieces of antiquity in new translations and interpretations, so does it need recurrent appraisals of their enduring values in language attuned to modern usage. While some — who have not read the pamphlet, *Why Study Latin in School?* — may doubt the ability of some college presidents and deans to use such language, this column in keeping with its usual policy will attempt to summarize their views as funnelled to the reading, as contrasted with the "looking and listening" public, via the editorial pages of thirty-three newspapers. Those who instinctively distrust all *ipse dixit* pronouncements or who always have on hand satisfying answers to their Latin students' constant quest for justification of their brave study methinks will read no further. But those who feel that thoughts from the conning tower as relayed by the public press may have an objective worth denied to professional dicta will read and check what follows against their own expanding judgment.

One other word. There will be no effort to identify administrative originators or editorial pages, or to distinguish between the two. There was much repetition, and this fact in itself lent conviction.

That Those Who Run May Read

1. Latin study helps develop the ability to communicate ideas briefly, directly and effectively.
2. Latin study helps to discipline the mind.
3. Latin is necessary for an understanding of the roots of Western culture and civilization.
4. Latin gives training in exact, structural, rich and even *loving* use of the English language.
5. Latin study broadens the student's grasp of history.
6. Latin study sharpens the student's logic.
7. Latin is the handiest tool extant to unlock the mysteries of the highly skilled professions and to acquire skill in the communication of ideas.
8. Latin — and Greek — can provide an excellent background for the study of modern languages.

The Personal Abuse in Lucilius' *Satires*

IT MAY SEEM a work of supererogation to reopen the question of the personal abuse in the satires of Lucilius; but from my study of the history of Roman satire I believe that the audacity of Lucilius' invectives has been vastly overrated and I am confident that a chronological study of his writings will prove such to be the case.

Roughly the political satires of Lucilius fall into three periods. In the years 133-29 B.C., when the reform party was suffering under the blow dealt it by the violent death of Ti. Gracchus, Lucilius writing as protégé of Scipio — victorious general and leader of the strong conservative party — might with impunity criticize reform sympathizers as well as Scipio's unsuccessful predecessors at Numantia. Again immediately following the catastrophe to C. Gracchus in 121 B.C., which received even the popular sanction, he might seize the opportunity of ridiculing reform partisans. Finally in 109 when the repeated failures to settle the Numidian question, by commission or by war, had resulted in the Mamilian investigation, Lucilius might safely satirize the perpetrators of these failures.

The fragments of the thirty books of Lucilius' satires form a unique document dealing with the period from the middle of the Numantine War until the close of the struggle with the Cimbri and Teutones. For twenty years (154-34 B.C.) the Romans had been waging war in Spain with many defeats and fickle successes. One general had been quickly replaced by another and armies were demoralized. Finally in 134 the foremost general of Rome, Scipio Aemilianus, was entrusted with the command. Fifteen months after he had assumed command, Numantia was reduced to unconditional surrender and the supremacy of Rome was acknowledged in Hither Spain.

Lucilius as an *eques* serving under Scipio grew to admire his general's rigorous tactics and to feel contempt for those commanders who previously had failed miserably in their attempts to bring the war to a decisive conclusion. In writing a congratulatory piece on Scipio's success, he contrasts the defeat of M. Popilius Laenas (cos. 139) by the Numantines: ¹ (621) *percrepa pugnam Popili, facta Corneli cane*. Later he pictures Popilius' successor, C. Hostilius Mancinus (137 B.C.), in disgrace. Mancinus had concluded a treaty with the Numantines on terms which the Senate refused to accept. As a consequence he had been stripped of his insignia and exposed before the gates of the enemy.² Lucilius is probably describing him with his hands bound behind his back. (1324) *vidimus <vincitum> <thomice cann>abina*. In fragment 972, *calvus Palantino quidam vir non bonus bello*, Lucilius, as Cichorius suggests, is probably criticizing M. Aemilius Lepidus (136 B.C.) for his stupid persistence in the siege of Pallantia despite senatorial orders to desist.³

Returning (133 B.C.) to Rome from the campaigns in Spain, Lucilius settled down on terms of intimacy with Scipio. Over many a pot of greens, Horace tells us⁴ they exchanged ideas, and soon Lucilius was attacking Scipio's political opponents. The tribunate and the consequent violent death of Tiberius Gracchus (133 B.C.) had split the Senate into the conservative group led by Scipio and the reform supported by P. Mucius Scaevola (tr. pl. 141, pr. 136, cos. 133) and Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (pr. 148, cos. 143, cens. 131).⁵ Though connected by marriage with the Gracchi, Scipio did not sympathize with the agrarian measures, and even approved of Tiberius' death. From 131-29 he championed the Italian

allies rather than the urban proletariat. It was rumored that he sought the repeal of the Sempronian law, and under the assault of his enemies he was forced to defend his position before the people. The next day he was found dead (129 B.C.).

P. Mucius Scaevola, Scipio's opponent in the Senate, had helped Tiberius draw up the agrarian measure, and had been elected to the consulship the year that Tiberius had secured the tribuneship. The proposals of Scipio Nasica that force be employed against Tiberius he had refused to sanction, despite the obvious favor of the senatorial majority to Nasica. Only after the catastrophe had he defended the action of the senators, publishing three decrees that arms had been justly assumed against Tiberius. Mucius' sympathy with the reform party stirred Lucilius to abuse. Persius (I, 115) testifies that *secuit Lucilius . . . te, Muci, et genuinum fugit*; and Juvenal (I, 153) says that Lucilius cared not in the least whether Mucius pardoned his words or not. And it was little wonder for the spirit of the reform, Tiberius Gracchus, was dead by the hands of senators, while Scipio, the conqueror of Numantia, was at the height of his influence.

At a time when extreme views were being voiced, Scipio's other rival in the senate, Q. Metellus Macedonicus, maintained a middle course, which makes his career seem a series of contradictions. Though a member of the nobility, he voiced sentiments of moderate reform. Yet his sensitiveness to the aristocratic proprieties had not permitted him to admire wholeheartedly the methods of Tiberius.⁶ On the other hand, he could not agree with the Scipionic group in their attempt to have the scheme abandoned for distributing the domain lands. His grief at Scipio's death was evidence of his personal regard for the man.⁷ Metellus' criticism of Scipionic policies struck fire in Lucilius. The diatribes against matrimony in the early satires probably reflect the

political opposition between these two. As censor Metellus lectured the people on the duty of marrying and rearing children.⁸ Our satirist travesties the censor's dictum thus (678):

homines ipsi hanc sibi molestiam ultro
atque aerumnam offerunt, ducunt
uxores, producunt, quibus haec faciant,
liberos. coniugem, infidamque placitam
familiam, inpuram domum?

Metellus as censor had little to lose by the taunts of Lucilius. As we have seen, he paid strict allegiance to no party though he sympathized with the reform group. This group by the death of Ti. Gracchus had been considerably weakened, while the conservative party under Scipio's leadership was growing stronger. Inasmuch as Metellus was Scipio's personal friend, despite their political differences, he must have found it expedient to ignore Lucilius' scoffs.

But Lucilius was not so willing to dismiss Metellus. If the conjecture of Cichorius⁹ is correct, Metellus' son-in-law, C. Servilius Vatia, is attacked in fragment 800:

ut si progeniem antiquam, qua est
Maximus Quintus, qua varicosus vatax.

When Metellus in 131 made L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus (cos. 156) *princeps senatus*, here was another slight to Scipio for Lucilius to resent. Scipio (cens. 142) and Lupus (cens. 147) were each eligible for the honor.¹⁰ That Scipio who was at the peak of military fame should not be preferred to Lupus, one time expelled from the Senate, was to Lucilius unforgivable. In mock Empedoclean language he makes a thrust at Lupus in his capacity as judge (784):

hoc cum feceris,
cum ceteris reus una tradetur Lupo. non
aderit: archais hominem et stoechiis
simul privabit, igni cum et aqua interdixerit. duo habet stoechia, adfuerit
anima et corpore (ge corpus, anima est
pneuma): posterioribus stoechiis, si id
maluerit, privabit tamen.

Such persiflage could hardly be termed libel. Yet Horace and Persius¹¹ testify that Lucilius showered abuse upon Lupus. There are two other passages to which they were probably referring. In the first (Book I), a council of the gods has been convened to discuss the death of the gourmand Lupus (123 B.C.). In the second, Lucilius classes Lupus among the godless sinners then dead: L. Hostilius Tubulus (pr. 142) and C. Papirius Carbo (cos. 120).¹²

Quid de sacrilegis, quid de impiis periu-
risque dicamus?

Tubulus si Lucius umquam

Si Lupus aut Carbo, aut Neptuni filius,
ut ait Lucilius, putasset esse deos, tam
periuus aut tam impurus fuisset? (Cic.,
N.D. 1.23.63)

Insofar as we can ascertain, the Romans had neither law nor sentiment against abuse of the dead. We may therefore dismiss these three men from our list of possible sources of litigation.

Even after the death of Scipio (129 B.C.), Lucilius continued to champion the principles of the conservative aristocracy. During the years 129-23 the question of the franchise for the allies which had been a cherished hope of Scipio was one of the leading issues. M. Junius Pennus (126) proposed that when the time came to vote concerning the franchise of the Italian towns all foreigners be excluded from the city. Lucilius in role of political pamphleteer expresses indignation at this measure (1088): *accipiunt leges, populus quibus legibus exlex*. Such great fermentation brewed among the allies concerning the franchise that finally in 125 Fregellae revolted. Quickly the Roman army under the praetor L. Opimius was sent to raze the walls of the town. At this severity Lucilius was doubly incensed; for his birth-place Suessa Aurunca was only a few kilometers from Fregellae, and so he exclaims (1089): *quanti vos faciant, socii, quom parcere possint*. To express sympathy with the allies at this time required some boldness since

many of the supposed accomplices in the insurrection were being impeached.

In 121, following the two years of C. Gracchus' activities, a state of martial law was declared, and the violent scene which occasioned the death of Tiberius was again repeated. Surprisingly enough the people sanctioned the action of the consul Opimius in crushing Gaius as just protection of the public safety. As a result of the Gracchan reforms the Senate now recognized the need of treating the opinions of the Forum with deference; still it was not willing to tolerate active sympathy with the Gracchan efforts. Lucilius again when the reform group was in decline ridiculed several of its adherents.

In 119 occurred one of the famous cases on which the newly instituted equestrian courts sat in judgment. Q. Mucius Scaevola, augur (cos. 117), on returning from the province in Asia, was impeached for extortion by Titus Albucius (tr. pl. 112, pr. 106). In all probability as an amused spectator, Lucilius, with more humor than rancor, records his version of the trial. Albucius is represented as accusing Scaevola of being an infamous thief and of expending large sums on a meretrix (Frgs. 57, 66, 71, 72, 74, 75, 78, 83). Scaevola casually responds, condemning his prosecutor's philhellenic mania for interweaving Latin and Greek words (Frag. 84), and finally recalling the cause of Albucius' hatred (Frag. 88). From the general bantering tone of this satire it seems likely that Lucilius, as Cicero testifies (*De Orat.* I, 72), was only "somewhat angry" with Scaevola. The fact that Scaevola was married to the daughter of Laelius, who had been the close friend of Scipio, is a point in favor of this belief. In any case, as a Gracchan sympathizer Scaevola was hardly in a position to resent being ridiculed. Of the prosecutor Albucius we know little more than that he had held high curule office. Inasmuch as in 103 he was prosecuted for extor-

tion by the aristocrat C. Julius Caesar Strabo, it is not unlikely that he adhered to the popular party.

Again in 117 Lucilius attacked a man whose family had been affiliated with the reform party, the youngest son of his old enemy C. Metellus Caprarius who was then *praetor designatus*. He pokes fun at the cognomen Caprarius, which was seldom given to an aristocrat unless he was fat and rustic (frags. 1130, 210). While serving at Numantia, Caprarius had incurred Scipio's contempt and later, on at least one occasion, had engaged in rapid retort with him in *contio*.¹³

The next political events with which the satires are concerned occurred in the years 111-09 when the dispute about the Numidian succession was causing trouble at Rome. The series of senatorial commissions, first under L. Opimius and finally under M. Scaurus, had had not the slightest effect. The people and the minority in the Senate were demanding that war be declared upon Jugurtha. C. Memmius (tr. pl. 111-10) as the popular spokesman denounced the dilatory methods of the aristocracy. Lucilius, partisan of the nobility, mocks this demagogue (242): *si nosti, non magnus homo est, nasutus, macellus*,¹⁴ quoting derisively bits of his forensic speeches regarding the procrastination and exclusiveness of the aristocracy (258):

'peccare inpune rati sunt
posse et nobilitati facul propellere ini-
quos,' suam enim rem invadere se atque
innubere censent haec, inquam, rudet
ex rostris atque heululitabit, concursans,
veluti Ancarius, clareque quirilians.

When, however, war was declared, little was accomplished. Aulus Albinus, impelled by his avaricious nature, attached the treasure of Jugurtha's city, Suthul, and was forced into a degrading treaty.¹⁵ Whereupon Lucilius pointedly addressed a passage on virtue to Albinus (Frag. 1326). According to the proposal of the tribune Mamilius an investigation was held into the conduct

of all those who had treated with Jugurtha, and many aristocrats were condemned; among them was L. Opimius, the head of the first commission. Lucilius, never having forgotten that Opimius had destroyed Fregellae, took advantage of this opportunity to pay off old scores, and satirized Opimius along with his father Quintus (cos. 154) who was very likely no longer living (418):

Quintus Opimius ille, Iugurtini pater
huius, et formosus homo fuit et
famosus, utrumque primo adulescens,
posterius dare rectius sese.

Apparently in a reminiscent mood, Lucilius jotted down *bons mots* which Scipio had tossed off in the old days, perhaps, of their campaigning. Concerning P. Decius (tr. pl. 120; pr. 115) he recalls Scipio's jest (1280): *quid Decius? Nuculam an confixum vis facere?* Decius had shown his Gracchan affiliation in prosecuting (120 B.C.) the consul Opimius on charge of putting to death citizens without trial. In 115 as praetor he had clashed with the consul M. Aemilius Scaurus, the chief of the optimates. One day when Scaurus had been walking past the tribunal, Decius had failed to rise in respectful acknowledgment of his superior. Scaurus had had Decius' official robe torn, and had commanded that no one bring legal business before him again. Very probably for the amusement of Scaurus, who was now one of the presidents of the Mamilian board, Lucilius recalls this joke on Decius.

The political significance for this period of two other episodes which are recorded concerning Scipio's experiences with an adversary the meagre evidence does not permit us to explain. When Scipio was censor (142 B.C.) and had expelled a certain Ti. Claudius Asellus from the equestrian order, Asellus in revenge, as tribune of the plebs (140 B.C.), had preferred charges against Scipio of causing a plague at Rome by not following the usual prayer order of the lustration (Frag. 394).

Scipio's colleague, L. Mummius, who is known to have been of popular sympathies,¹⁶ reinstated Asellus. Mummius, however, says Lucilius, had to offer sacrifices in order to purge the state of his sin in so doing (Frag. 396). Inasmuch as Asellus was restored to the order by Mummius, he too probably belonged to the popular party. Unfortunately nothing further is known regarding him.

In the second fragment (413) Lucilius censures L. Aurelius Cotta (tr. pl. 154; cos. 144) and his son (cos. 119):

Lucius Cotta senex, pater crassi huius,
Paceni magnus fuit trico nummarius,
soluere nulli lentus.

Forty-five years before this satire was written, L. Cotta had taken advantage of his inviolability as tribune to refuse payment of his debts. Some years later (134 B.C.) he had been brought to trial, perhaps on charge of extortion. The case was one of the most sensational of the time; for it was the battleground on which two eminent political opponents met, Scipio Aemilianus for the prosecution and Metellus Macedonicus for the defense. Only after the eighth trial was Cotta acquitted. Why Lucilius should harp on this old scandal it is difficult to see, inasmuch as Cotta was very probably no longer living. His son, however, as consul in 119 had engaged in a fiasco with another Metellus. He had proposed in the Senate that Marius, then tribune, be summoned to account for his measure regarding the voting in the comitia. Thereupon Marius had threatened Cotta with imprisonment if he did not withdraw his proposal. When the other consul, L. Metellus (nephew of Macedonicus), had supported his colleague, Marius had had him arrested. The Senate had no recourse but to yield to Marius. Once again a Metellus had lent aid to a Cotta, but this time had been unsuccessful. Lucilius, perhaps, was led by this chain of associations to recall Scipio's defeat by Metellus Macedonicus and the elder Cotta, and so

triumphantly now connected the son with the father in a satire.

The private scandals, foibles, and excesses of individuals of whom little more than their names is now known were censured by Lucilius. Having satirized men of public and private station (some twenty-five in the existing fragments), how was it Lucilius escaped prosecution? Many conjectures have been made by various commentators, all of which fail to take account of the available data. Marx believed that Lucilius, not being a citizen, was exempt from the civil laws of Rome. Others have laid stress upon Lucilius' impeccable social position as knight and protégé of Scipio. Inasmuch as there are only three actions for libel in this century, each arising from an attack in a state-controlled theatre and two involving a member of the war party, it seems fair to conclude that in these processes political coercion may have been exerted, that repression was used only in cases of libel from the stage, and that it was not yet general. Lucilius must have known that he was on the right side of the law; for, having haled a mime to court on charge of slander, he himself continued to write abusive personal satire.

Yet at a time when the Courts were not unaffected by party influences, and prosecutions were often employed for political purposes, why was it that some politician did not exert himself to have Lucilius silenced by extraordinary measures? That he was not prosecuted on a trumped up charge can be traced to a certain extent to his happy choice of political connections and to the fact that his attacks were usually made upon victims who were vulnerable. The circumstances under which he was writing were favorable to strengthening and establishing even more firmly the Roman tradition of free criticism.

LAURA ROBINSON

Southwestern at Memphis

(For Notes see page 47)

WE SEE (from page 30)

cellent background for the general education the modern American needs.

9. How can we grasp the real meanings and dimensions of democracy, unless we begin by studying democracy at its ancient source?
10. Latin is the tap root of the language we speak, of the language in which we must grasp the ideas of others, in which we must express our own. . . . Studies made at Harvard indicate that 85 per cent of the words used in this country — from Orphan Annie to learned scientific treatises — are derived from Latin.
11. Knowledge of Latin is a fine preparation for learning other languages, especially the Romance languages.
12. There is nothing that gives a student such a sure grasp of our language as working it back and forth from Latin into English and English into Latin.
13. Study of the Latin classics will teach the student a wealth of the eternal verities of life, just as the study of the classics of any language would.
14. Latin is the key to a world of knowledge in philosophy and the liberal arts.
15. Occidental civilization is a continuous and unified fabric and, just as modern languages are essential for education in breadth, so ancient languages are essential for education in depth.
16. No studies are so good for training the mind in exactness as Latin and mathematics.
17. For those who have caught the spirit of their language and literature the Romans were the inventors of that *urbanitas* which many good writers of English have cultivated.
18. Latin opens the door to ancient literature undistorted by translation.
19. The study of Latin dissolves the provincialism of time and space which besets our minds today.
20. Anyone professing to write should have a solid foundation of Latin, not only to broaden his English vocabulary and to teach him the relation between French, Italian and English, but to give him an idea of grammar.
21. Latin roots remain an everyday tool of our reading and writing.
22. In the modern babel of semantics, fads and ideologies, here today and gone tomorrow, the classics, studied in the original, incomparable idiom of a simpler, saner age, offer an anchor to windward.

23. To live for a time close to great minds is the best kind of education.

24. Not to know Greek or Latin is to hobble on one foot — not to know the roots of our whole Western civilization.

25. The men who framed our constitution were well read in the classics and had learned how to blend living experience with the lessons of history.

These were the opinions of 76 leading college educators as reported by thirty-three newspapers. They were convinced that the high school students with Latin made the best college students because of the values they received from Latin. Are we Latin teachers equally sure?

McLupus Et Agnus

The Russians are not the only ones who can make effective use of *Aesop* to drive home a point. Last July Senator McCarthy proposed to investigate one of the C.I.A. officials, William P. Bundy — "among other reasons for a book written by his brother." In commenting on this, an editorial in *The Washington Post* (July 11, 1953) said it was pertinent to recall *Aesop's* famous fable, *The Wolf and the Lamb*:

A hungry Wolf one day saw a Lamb drinking at a stream, and wished to frame some plausible excuse for making him his prey. "What do you mean by muddying the water I am going to drink?" fiercely said he to the Lamb. "Pray forgive me," meekly answered the Lamb. "I should be sorry in any way to displease you, but as the stream runs from you towards me, you will see that such cannot be the case." "That's all very well," said the Wolf, "but you know you spoke ill of me behind my back a year ago." "Nay, believe me," replied the Lamb, "I was not then born." "It must have been your brother, then," growled the Wolf. . . . That was all.

The passage from *Aesop* was taken from an English translation of the *Fables* by La Fontaine. The Latin text as everyone knows reads *pater* and not *frater*.

Dollars and Sense

The United Press put out the following story quoted in *The Washington Post* (July 12, 1953): "Professor Kevin Guinagh of Eastern Illinois College recently received \$500 for a translation of Vergil's *Aeneid* from Latin into English.

"Today his wife won \$1000 for writing 'in 25 words or less' why she likes a certain brand of refrigerator.

" 'I write 40 words for a dollar,' Guinagh said. 'She gets \$40 a word.' "

Latin or Babel

And at that time the whole earth had the same language and the same word.

Genesis: 11:1.

THE NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE, the necessity of economic and social rapport on a world scale, the sentiment that the technical progress of society has rendered borders archaic — those are among the facts that impose themselves upon people with a constant and urgent intensity. Consequently there is posed upon a vast scale the problem of teaching foreign languages; for two people who understand the same language are by that very fact near to understanding each other.

This is why in our country — which is not the most advanced among those which provide a large place for teaching foreign languages — an extra effort is being advanced to extend bilingualism. M. André Marie, national Minister of Education, stressed this point: "France ought to concern itself with developing and promoting in its educational understanding of the great languages of the universe, without which she cannot attain her destiny" (*L'Education Nationale*: June 12, 1952). We must therefore expect new developments in such teaching, to the benefit of the greatest number of pupils.

Without doubt it will be expedient to utilize earlier the extraordinary aptitude of children to learn languages and to come to the introduction of languages in the primary school. In an article (*L'Education Nationale*: June 6, 1952) entitled "How I viewed the schools in USSR," M. R. Gabriel recounts that in Russia where compulsory education extends from the seventh to the fourteenth years of age, the study of a foreign language is introduced as early as the third year of the urban schools and the fifth year of the rural schools. Such a measure raises very complicated problems; for the foreign language may be Eng-

lish, French, German, or Spanish. Without doubt every school does not give its pupils all these options. But it is interesting already to note that the children without unreasonable effort can familiarize themselves with a foreign language. There is a verification of this that one easily makes in our schools in the wilderness of France Overseas. The children arrive at school without knowing a single word of French, their teacher generally does not speak their language, and yet the progress by these little ones is extraordinarily rapid.

It is not then in the aptitudes of children that the true difficulty lies; it is in the choice of the foreign language that is the most suitable to their training and in the recruiting of the necessary specialists. But if it is desirable to develop bilingualism, all the same we cannot engage in multilingualism generally. Then, save in the case of border dwellers for whom the second language choice is evident, how to choose that second language?

I wish to approach this question by sidestepping deliberately the pedagogic question of the cultural value of the language, and by addressing myself particularly to the needs of technicians, of researchers in laboratories, as well as those persons of diplomatic and commercial activities who are called upon to enter into frequent understandings with foreigners. Well then, it is necessary immediately to enquire whether it suffices any more to familiarize oneself with a single foreign language. There are scientific publications in French, in English, in German, in Russian, in Spanish, in Italian. There are economic and social problems posed by the countries of the Arabic language. With an amplitude of which we hardly divine the future and the immense developments, there are those who already are agitating the peoples of India and China. It is evident that one living language,

however extended its domain of application, will open up but a restricted field of the vast panorama that necessarily should be included. And it is evident also that it is not possible to demand of diplomats, of workmen, or of chiefs of commercial missions the possession, however they may need it, of three or four living languages.

It suffices to have taken part in international meetings, to report the enormous inertia opposed to good will and the desire of comprehension by the barrier of languages. In such a conference the languages used may be French, English, and Spanish. In another such it may be German, English, French. For example, if the discussion is in one of the international conventions for the standardization of machine parts (the ISO), the languages officially adopted are English, French, and Russian. What time lost! What difficulties imposed by the technical terms for even the most experienced translators! What mistakes and useless discussions between participants who do not see that they are in accord! After the conferences of three languages we have the conferences of four languages, even of five. The headphones and the army of panting translators do not allay the confusion. How the builders of Babel, the artisans of the modern city, risk having "to disperse themselves over the whole earth and to cease to build the city!"

Without going back as far as the Deluge, contemplation of the past can give a lesson. And I attempt it in trying to adopt the most realistic point of view—I should say even the most down to earth—that of the technician who searches for better efficiency at lower cost. It was great good fortune for the savants of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance to have at their command that admirable international vehicle that Latin then was. It was with regret that the philosophers and the savants, conscious of the horizons that were closing upon them, accepted the re-

nouncing of Latin to write for a time in French, then finally in their national languages. May I cite some names?

Kepler published in Latin his fundamental work *Mysterium cosmographicum astronomia nova* (1609), while Galileo wrote in Italian, it is true, his famous *Discorsi* (1638). But Descartes employed Latin for his *Principia philosophiae* (1644); similarly Newton for his celebrated work *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica* (1687), Leibnitz for his work *Specimen dynamicum* (1695), Bernoulli for his treatise *Examen principium mechanicoe* (1726). Finally way into the eighteenth century the great mathematician of the German language, Euler, remained faithful to Latin for his celebrated works such as *Mechanica sive motus scientia analytice exposita* (1736) or *Theoria motus corporum solidorum* (1760). But already Latin was being abandoned and d'Alembert published in French his *Traite de dynamique* in 1743.

One does not emphasize perhaps enough the immense services that Latin rendered the philosophers of the Middle Ages as well as the people of the Renaissance and the great savants of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

Afterward there was the prodigious success of the French language, then universally admired for its precision, its discipline, its admirable clarity. A fortuitous incident—ignorance of Latin by Villars, the negotiator of the treaty of Rastadt—as much as its inherent qualities, made French the language of international conventions. For every "honorable gentleman" of the eighteenth century, elegant and cultivated, had at heart to possess the French language, even its subtlest nuances. There was a time when the *Annals* of the Academy of Berlin were written in French. French was suited admirably to assure the services that Latin had rendered. But its preeminence did not last, for the nineteenth century which saw the formation and strengthening of

the great national political units saw also the grouping of the philosophers and savants within these less and less open worlds that constitute the new nations. And in our day there is no longer a preferred language either for international discussion, or for the diffusion of thought, or for the publication of scientific and technical results.

This situation, characterized as modern babelism, is emphasized grievously by the contrast between the powerful technical means of communication and the feeble antennae which people direct to comprehend their fellows of other languages. If the possibility of a solution to this problem is admitted, can one really expect probable success of an artificial language, simple as it may be—Esperanto, for example? The facts do not seem to leave us much evidence. Perhaps it is as difficult to animate an artificial language as to give life to a synthetic chemical compound. It is quite probably as chimerical to expect that any one actual national language might be adopted universally even in the restricted circles of those who must become *en rapport* with the people or the works of several countries. That would imply, as a matter of fact, that one of the nations might arise to dominate the others and to impose its law upon the world!

Then why not return to Latin, although without taking it as retrogression? Such a question seems rash indeed at a moment when Latin is being dropped more and more in its characteristic domain which is the secondary school, to the advantage of the modern options and techniques considered as better adapted to the needs of practical life. Perhaps it will be proper here to clear up a few mistakes.

It was a mistake to wish to make Latin the condition necessary to a fine and solid culture. For the modern humanities are showing that the discipline inherent in the study of living languages and of science has fully as much pedagogical value as that through which it

was the tradition to educate—through Latin, sometimes Greek, the elite of old; except that a certain smugness, a presumption favorable to Latin, stimulated the development of an inferiority complex, widespread enough, alas, among many of those who, for diverse reasons, have a general culture without Latin.

It was a mistake also to let Latin appear as the element essential and characteristic of a socially differentiated culture and reserved, in any way, to the leisure-classes; for the introduction of the modern curriculum has enabled one to adorn himself with the glamour, useless for that matter, of a social conquest.

One makes a mistake, finally, to defend Latin by doing nothing but extol its admirable linguistic qualities, the plentitude of its phrases, and its literary masterpieces! For one thus contributes to divorcing from the interest it could sustain all those—and they are numerous and not necessarily vulgar—who are above all practical and consider first the utilitarian aspect of studies.

It is not for the sake of Virgil's suave verses, Horace's refined odes, or the powerful pieces of Cicero's eloquence that I wish to foresee a return, and a mass return, to Latin, the sole possible international language! It is for essentially practical reasons, evident, for example, to the engineer discouraged by the linguistic curtain that hinders piercing the mystery of such German, English, Russian technical publications.

Such a return, does it appear so utopian? We have an example to the contrary in that the Church knew the advantage which it was able to take from the Latin language, essentially pagan at the time of its great literary movements. From the first centuries of Christianity the Church continued attached to Latin, the language by which the Vatican finds it convenient to communicate with the entire world. It is evident that this convenience is not for

the Church solely! Finally I hold it superfluous to emphasize that in consequence Latin did not become a religious article and that it is capable, fully as a living language, to enrich itself with the new terms created by the evolution of civilization.

If then the international usage of Latin does not appear as a Utopia, why not strive by a very widespread movement among the universities to renew and to diffuse the teaching of Latin? That is a proper mission for UNESCO.

A profound renovation addressing itself to widespread audiences and making appeal by the most modern methods would be indeed an essential condition. There is no reason to continue to study Latin as a dead language and to give its pedagogy a traditionally boresome form that culminates in the exercise of Latin syntax — syntax that sticks in the memories of too great a number of us as the most refined manner of wasting time!

Such a reform must be accompanied by a revision of the choice of texts to put into the pupils' hands, for there are a number of works to explore among those that were written in Latin by the historians and the savants up to the eighteenth century. They would illuminate for the pupils the history of thought, the tentative gropings that have led to discoveries. Similarly in those instances when the style of these texts does not attain the perfection of the Virgilian hexameter or the Ciceronian period, the pupil usually would be more interested by certain concrete accounts than by the tiresome explication, running into weeks, of the misfortunes of Aeneas and Dido or the conspiracy of Cataline! In a very brilliant scientific communication presented at the French Society of Metallurgy October 24, 1951 our compatriot savant, M. Salin, member of the Institute of France and mining engineer, revealed the method that he elicited from the information furnished by the Latin his-

torians of the epoch of the great invasions (for example, Cassiodore) about the armament of the barbarians. M. Salin thus was able to establish in the laboratory that astonishing thing that the hardening of steel by nitrogenation — an important discovery of modern metallurgy — already was known and used by the barbarians for the fabrication of Damascus swords, *etiam arma secantes*.¹

Latin is incontestably a beautiful and powerful language. But it has other riches. If our generation so wills, it can come back, an instrument marvelously adapted to commerce of things and ideas, and by that, a powerful factor of progress, of fraternity, and of peace.

JEAN CAPELLE²

Translated by THOMAS H. QUIGLEY
Georgia Institute of Technology

NOTES

¹ A later answer by the author in answer to a question as to why he quoted the Latin rather than its French translation: The reason why I quote in Latin the very words written by Cassiodore (*etiam arma secantes* which means able to cut even the blades of the enemies) is this: at the time of the invasions, the soldiers of the Roman Empire were supposed to have the best steel blades; such was the belief of many historians, and was Mr. Salin's too, when his attention was attracted by these three Latin words. He then looked for more information and could read in very old accounts that the barbarian sword-makers used to forge their steel many times. They would cut it into small pieces, have geese swallow those pieces and gather them back to forge them into a blade. As a matter of fact [thus] those old swords — many samples of which are shown in the Nancy Museum — are nitrogenated.

² Jean Capelle is Rector (*president* or *chancellor* might be an American equivalent) of the University of Nancy. As such he is also the French equivalent of the American state superintendent of schools in the province of which Nancy is the center in northeastern France near the borders of Belgium, Luxembourg, Germany, and Switzerland. His native home is close to Spain. He has been a practicing automotive engineer, dean of the electrical and mechanical engineering college, and superintendent of education of central French Africa. One of his many interests is his University's European Center which draws a guest faculty from the law, economic, social, and humanities faculties of the universities of many European countries and graduate students from the whole world. This article was published in *L'Education Nationale* October 23, 1952 with the editorial comment: "... this new and original point of view . . . without doubt will not fail to stir up a controversy."

[Without access to M. Capelle's French, I have ventured to substitute English idiom and usage for occasional Gallicisms of the translator and have removed some infelicitous expressions. I hope that, in so doing, I have not misrepresented either author or translator. Ed.]

THE REVIEW CUPBOARD

Et summis admiratio
veneratioque et
inferioribus merita
laus

By Grundy Steiner

NICETIES of interpretation (which are likely to be the stars in the crown of many a scholar who looks down his nose at the compilers of bibliographies and *indices verborum*, or at the toilers in stemmatics, or at those who struggle with the ancient commentaries) can, in the final analysis, be valid only if they rest upon an authentic text. It is not sound work to assert that a slightly irregular figure in Sophocles means thus and so when that figure is the product of a Byzantine interpolation, or to claim that a rare collocation in Juvenal must have one certain meaning when an examination of its components in other contexts (accomplished easily through a critical index, even though the MSS and editors are not in complete agreement) would tell another story.

For this reason, as the *Cupboard* is opened at the start of a new year, six rather technical books are brought together — six books which could be used to illustrate problems and methods of research in connection with the Classical literatures. All six are tools. Some are intended as aids to anyone who would edit a text or do research in the author concerned; others stand as progress reports on the state of present knowledge, to serve as points of departure for anyone who would study these authors.

Alexander Turyn brings order into 193 Sophoclean MSS by identifying the characteristics of the Byzantine editions among them in order to clear the way for a correct evaluation of the older MSS. Alfred Tomsin attempts to reconstruct the Vergilian commentary of Aemilius Asper by broadening the base of what is already known. The late W. A. Oldfather and Dr. Marian Harman strive for completeness in the bibliography of Epictetus. Lucile Kelling and Albert Suskin index Juvenal to fill a gap in the wall of critical indices dedicated to the needs of editors of texts. Denys L. Page faces the problem of interpretation in connection with a fragmentary text (the *Parthenaion* of Alcman) surviving in a papyrus. A. S. F. Gow and A. F. Scholfield face the same problems in connection with a text (the poems of Nicander) extant in a few interpolated MSS.

Not one of these would normally be read for enjoyment. The subjects do not lend themselves to much elegant writing. A cynical reader might say of most that they are "mere compilations," or "preoccupied with unimportant details," or concerned with authors "who were better left forgotten." Yet from all six much satisfaction can be gained, even by the non-specialist, in seeing a competent mind at work, devising a method to bring order into a cumbersome and unwieldy mass of details, and in seeing a generous spirit at work to spare some future mortal the task of travelling the same road, thereby enabling that person to go more safely about the more glamorous business of definitive interpretation. The provident man may fittingly plant an orchard for his children and the provident scholar may fittingly fashion tools for others.

Sophocles and Asper

Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles. By ALEXANDER TURYN. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature. Vol. 36, nos. 1-2.) Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1952. Pp. xi, 217; 18 plates. \$5.00 paper; \$6.00 cloth.

THIS BOOK is intended for the use of editors. Its purpose is to set in order the Sophoclean house of 193 MSS.

To accomplish this, Professor Turyn first identifies the distinguishing marks of the several Byzantine recensions of the text, i.e. the Moschopulean, Thoman, and Triclinian, so that elements from these (which found their way into "old" MSS written after about 1300) can be recognized anywhere and kept from obscuring the true relationships of the older MSS (p. 15). The Thoman recension gets most attention since it is the least well known (the modern vulgate text of Sophocles is strongly Moschopulean, following the Aldine text and the work of Brunck; the Triclinian text, through the edition of Turnebus, dominated editions of Sophocles for more than two centuries (p. 43). Turyn, basically, summarizes the results of his article in *TAPA* 80(1949)94-173

in his chapter on the Moschopulean recension. After his analysis of the three great Byzantine recensions, he identifies Turnebus' manuscript sources and points out the purely derivative nature of the Jena and Barocci recensions.

Once this task is completed, Turyn turns to the stemmatics of the *codices vetustiores* and then works out the relationships of the two principal classes of so-called *codices deteriores* (i.e. MSS which presents a somewhat modified form of the text of the *vetustiores*). Not the least interesting, though far from the most important sections are those which identify the manuscript source for the Aldine edition and the printed sources for seven sixteenth-century MSS.

A work of this sort can be evaluated properly only by editors who make actual use of its conclusions and indirectly by those who use the texts established upon the basis of its conclusions. Meanwhile it would appear that Professor Turyn, by evaluating and identifying the components of the several Byzantine recensions, and by demolishing the Parisian (Aldine-Brunck) tradition, has, in a logical and thorough manner, cleared away vast amounts of undergrowth in the woods of Sophoclean textual criticism and thereby prepared a far clearer and more straight-forward pathway for editors who would attempt to reconstruct an authentic text.

Etude sur le Commentaire Virgilien d'Aemilius Asper. By ALFRED TOMSIN. (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc. 125.) Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1952. Pp. 160. 400 francs.

M. TOMSIN makes a brave effort to reconstruct that which is essentially beyond reconstruction — the Vergilian commentary by Aemilius Asper. The results are interesting if not always convincing.

He first marshals the tenuous evidence for assigning Asper to the latter part of the second century A.D. Then he tries to acquire a broader base of authentic material, quite apart from items ascribed to Asper in Servius, Macrobius, and other sources, by accepting, on grounds of style and critical methodology, the *Quaestiones Vergilianae* which appear in the palimpsest from Corbie (Par. 12161). From this mass of material Tomsin gains what impressions he can of Asper as a critic, notably that, by contrast with many of his predecessors, he was essentially a Vergilian apologist, 'unre-

servedly defending the poet against every attack (p. 46)'.

He then turns from describing what may be assigned with safety (although, as Tomsin realizes, we can never know how much is quotation and how much is paraphrase) and attempts to push back the curtains of obscurity. He first employs what may be called a 'cross-reference' technique. For example, according to Servius citing Asper, in Aen. 10.188 'crimen' means 'causa' "ut alibi." The words "ut alibi" are followed by a cross-reference to Aen. 2.65 where Servius, without any reference to Asper, assigns the same meaning to 'crimen' (quoting 10.188 as a parallel). The Servian note on 2.65 is taken therefore as really the work of Asper. Undoubtedly a good percentage of the passages isolated this way (a method used by Ribbeck and Laemmert) are legitimate *residua* from Asper's work.

The next procedure is more perilous, for (following in the steps of Laemmert, Georgii, Wessner, and others) Tomsin attempts to accept scholia in Servius and other sources as deriving from Asper if they cite authorities often cited by him in bona fide scholia. This can mean almost any passage in which the text of Vergil is defended on the basis of something by Euripides, or where a Sallustian parallel is cited, or where the reasoning of Macrobius is similar to that of Asper, etc.

The fruit of all these sources and procedures is a twenty-page appendix entitled "Aspri in Vergilium Commentarii fragmenta." In it passages ascribed by name to Asper are marked with a double asterisk (**); passages assigned by the cross-reference technique are indicated by a single asterisk; those assigned by the more conjectural methods (*multo plures*) are unmarked. There are cross-references to discussions (within this study) of the specific passages. These are useful both for the supporting arguments found there and because there the Servian, Veronese, etc., contexts of the Aspran excerpts are given more fully.

A work of this sort is replete with conjecture. Aemilius Asper, if he could see the twenty pages, would probably be astonished at much that is laid at his door. Yet probably, despite a host of inaccuracies that must inevitably be present, those pages represent fairly well, albeit very incompletely (since subsequent commentators would reflect only the details that interested them and would let the rest fall into oblivion), pretty much the sort of thing that Asper worked into his commentary.

On the basis of glimpses recovered by Tomsin and his predecessors, one wishes Asper's work had survived intact. How accurate our impressions are, however, we cannot really know without help from some new source. It would be hard, for example, to reconstruct Gibbon's *Decline* from modern textbooks on Roman history and a few literary references, but if we had lost the complete Gibbon and most of the ancient literature at his disposal, we should rightly be grateful to any scholar who tried. Our situation is about the same relative to the work of Aemilius Asper.

Epictetus and Juvenal

Contributions toward a Bibliography of Epictetus. By W. A. OLDFATHER. A Supplement. Edited by MARIAN HARMAN, with a preliminary list of Epictetus manuscripts by W. H. FRIEDRICH and C. U. FAYE. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1952. Pp. xix, 177. \$4.00.

THIS SUPPLEMENT to the *Contributions* (published in 1927: pp. xvii, 201) is the result of the author's visits to major European libraries in 1927-28 and 1937 and, in part, of the use of additional bibliographical sources. It consequently contains a substantial number of new items, especially those published after 1927 (but prior to 1946 which was the last year in which any new entries were made, p. ix). It presents chiefly, however, "more accurate records about books already known (p. vii)," but which had previously not been available for examination. The practice of recording the dates upon which the older editions were examined in European libraries may have even more historical and bibliographical value in the future than would appear now.

The list of some 122 MSS was prepared originally by Dr. W. H. Friedrich of Munich. For publication the entries were supplemented by Mr. Faye and arranged in alphabetical order by locations.

The indices, a special province of Miss Harman, cover both the original volume and the supplement. One lists editors, translators, commentators, reviewers, and authors of critical works; a second, printers and publishers; a third, places of publication; and a fourth, publication dates.

The work is, apparently, pretty much as Professor Oldfather left it. Had he lived to see it through the press, probably more items from 1939 onward would have been ferreted out and inserted, although true completeness in a project of this sort is

unattainable. The two volumes will always need another supplement but, by their existence, they have made much less difficult the toil of anyone in the field covered or in fields bordered upon. That was a driving purpose behind much of the work of the author.

Index Verborum Iuvenalis. By LUCILE KELLING and ALBERT SUSKIN. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951. Pp. vii, 139. \$5.00.

ONE OF THE LAST major gaps in the list of indices for the major Latin poets is herewith filled. It is more than a replacement for Atorf's index since Kelling and Suskin have prepared a critical index upon the basis of the chief texts since Atorf's day (Vianello 1935, Owen 1908, Housman 1938, and Jahn-Buecheler-Leo 1910). They attempt to cite not only the readings of the four basic texts (whether accepted by all or not) but also the variants of the major MSS, in order (in the words of Professor Oldfather, quoted on p. v) to guarantee that "the variants and even corruptions in the manuscripts should be made as readily available to scholars as are the judgments upon the text," i.e. to "report the entire body of critical material upon which the texts followed are constituted, making record of the authenticity of all entries."

As the authors are ready to admit (p. vii), users of the book will undoubtedly find errors (presumably "[credo]" for 6.504, "[currunt]" for 12.77, and "[volsi]" for 15.1 have been omitted, either by chance or upon a principle which would be more obvious to a person verifying the index by means of more than the Owen text). But any person or institution needing a critical *index verborum* to the satires of Juvenal now has available a long-wanted tool which is not likely soon to be displaced.

Alcman and Nicander

Alcman: The Partheneion. By DENYS L. PAGE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951. Pp. xi, 179. \$4.25.

THIS EDITION attempts to draw together all that has been learned about the *Partheneion* of Alcman since the publication of the 101 line papyrus fragment in 1863. The difficulties in respect to the text are often insurmountable, as is suggested by variations in the collation of the decipherments of Blass, Barrett, and of Page, all of which underlie this edition. The difficulties of interpretation have provoked an extensive literature.

The book contains a thorough treatment of the text itself: Page's decipherment of the text and scholia; his edition and translation of the text; and his discussion of the metre. In connection with the interpretation of the text he considers various problems. With reference to the legend, for example, he finds that Alcman "is a spokesman of Laconian lore (p. 44)." Concerning the choir he argues for the existence of a Rival Choir (p. 57) and against the use of semi-choirs. Of the religious ceremony he says (p. 82), "if Ortheia be not the goddess in question, there is not sufficient evidence to prove, or even to suggest, any other identification." There is a supplementary commentary upon the text. Of Alcman's dialect he says (p. 163) that it is "preponderantly the Laconian vernacular . . . contaminated by features from [no] alien dialect except the Epic . . . [the] features [of which] . . . are observed sporadically . . . , but especially . . . in passages . . . where metre or theme or both are taken from the Epic, and . . . in phrases . . . borrowed or imitated from the Epic." There are appendices on Alcman's date and place of birth.

This book is a thorough, cautious, competent treatment of "evidence [which falls] obviously into two categories — the vague, and the obscure (p. 82)." One can only hope that the sands of Egypt will someday make it possible for the author and the press to publish with assurance a truly definitive edition.

Nicander: The Poems and Poetical Fragments. Edited with a translation and notes by A. S. F. GOW and A. F. SCHOLFIELD. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1953. Pp. xii, 247. \$6.00.

THIS IS THE FIRST new edition of Nicander's poems, the *Theriaca* and the *Alexipharmaca*, since 1856. If the world must again wait a century for another, the present work will fortify it about as well as need be, particularly in view of the author's actual literary importance and scientific utility (cf. p. 18: "... the victim of snake-bite or poison who turned to Nicander for first-aid would be in sorry plight").

The text, most of the introduction, and an appendix on the botanical drawings in *Par. Suppl.* 247 are primarily the work of Mr. Gow (p. xii); the translation, the introductory section on botany, appendices listing ancient weights and measures, and the indices are basically the work of Mr. Scholfield.

In the introduction the *testimonia* to the

author's life are presented and Mr. Gow argues for a dating in the middle or late second century B.C. The MSS are listed, evaluated, and their affinities presented, although no detailed stemma for the MSS of the "common class" is worked out. A brief discussion of the subject-matter of the poems underscores the great difficulties in identifying the creatures and plants mentioned. In this connection there is a useful glossarial index of the Greek names of fauna and flora, as well as Greek and English indices to the notes and introduction.

The chief service of the edition, of course, is that it makes accessible once more a text of the poems and poetical fragments. Some fifty pages of notes follow, for which no claim to exhaustiveness is made, though many "full" commentaries would cite fewer parallels and face fewer difficulties of interpretation and identification. A few notes, but no text, are provided for the prose fragments.

The translation, especially in the first part of the *Theriaca*, is occasionally marred by certain stylistic perversities which are perhaps akin to the normally admirable classroom technique of translating phrase by phrase in the word order of the original language. In *Th.* 10, e.g., "... if indeed he spoke the truth, Ascræan Hesiod on the steep of secluded Melisseis . . .," the anticipatory "he" (referring to Hesiod) could normally be avoided although here it may contribute to a loftiness of style. In a passage like *Th.* 448-452 the pronouns are worrisome, "From his earliest days . . . the Eagle grows up cherishing . . . wrath against him, and against him . . . he wages . . . war . . . whenever he spies him . . . for every nest he lays desolate, devouring alike the young and the . . . eggs of birds" (the other creature is a dragon). But most peculiar is the translation of *Th.* 186, "Be they no friends of mine whose heads these monsters assail." This seems to mean, "I'd disown any friend (foolish enough?) to get bitten by an asp!" whereas the Greek seems to mean only, "May it be my enemies who get bitten!"

But objections of this sort need not be pursued far, especially since passages like the second normally reflect the style of Nicander and may in part be charged, therefore, to him. In reality Mr. Scholfield has rendered an extremely valuable service in presenting any kind of logical interpretation at all for the many doubtful and almost hopelessly obscure passages.

BOOK REVIEWS

Two Books on Sparta

Sparta. By H. MICHELL. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1952. Pp. 348.

Ancient Sparta. By K. M. T. CHRIMES. (Manchester University Press, 1949.) New York: The Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. 527; 9 plates. \$8.75.

NEITHER of these volumes is a history of Sparta in the strict sense but each is an account of the institutions of the city with an attempt to solve some of the puzzles of Spartan life. The book by Michell is less specialized than that of Miss Chrimès, is less governed by any particular thesis, and therefore will be considered first.

Professor Michell devotes eleven chapters to his study as follows: a rather long Introduction; a consideration of who the "Spartans" in the strict sense really were; the origin and character of the Perioeci, Helots and "Inferiors"; the Spartan constitution; the Spartan discipline; the Spartan system of Land-Tenure; Spartan Military and Naval Organization; the Public Meals; Money and Public Finance; and finally, the three famous leaders of later times — Agis, Cleomenes and Nabis. The book contains a Select Bibliography and a short Index, both Greek and English.

In his introduction Michell discusses such problems as the early Messenian wars, the time and identity of Lycurgus and the change which came over Spartan life about 550 B.C. He properly emphasizes the extent of the cultural life of early Sparta with its artists, poets and rich traders, who are conspicuous in Alcman because of their ships. He thinks that Artemis Orthia was a protectress of sailors. But what of Lycurgus? Michell believes that he may have been regarded as a god, was definitely of royal lineage and lived in the second half of the seventh century B.C. Lycurgus was influential in the settlement which followed the second Messenian war although Tyrtaeus does not mention him.

The changes which took place in Sparta about the middle of the sixth century Michell would explain as due to the coming of "a dominant caste of alien conquerors" who had imposed their will upon the subject race. These conquerors were the historical Spartans, who must maintain themselves against the hostile Messenians and Helots because they were never numerous and even kept diminishing in numbers. They

were a homogeneous group set off sharply against the other elements in the state. Their early expansion resulted in the Messenian wars, the first occurring about 743-724, which represented the first step in the evolution of the Spartan constitution. Then followed the establishment of the Senate or Gerousia, the rise of the General Assembly, which Michell refuses to call the "Apella," and the seizure of power by the Ephors. The second Messenian war introduced Tyrtaeus, about whose original nationality Michell is uncertain and offers no solution. The Ephors, who normally had been anti-imperialistic, finally adopted an imperialistic policy, which ultimately drew Sparta into the Peloponnesian war. Finally, at the battle of Leuctra in 371 Sparta met defeat from which she never recovered. From then on Sparta met only reverses and her prestige in Greece was a thing of the past.

Michell calls attention to the great earthquake of 464 B.C. with its attendant destruction of life and property and the chance it gave the Helots to organize a serious revolt.

The chapter on the Spartans pays considerable attention to the meaning of the *mothaces* or *mothones*, terms which were applied to the young Helots who were the playmates and favorites of the young Spartan boys. Miss Chrimès, however, would derive the word *mothax* from *mothos* (battle), and she believes that the *mothaces* were originally the military following of the noble Spartans and are to be identified with another disputed class, the *kasens*.

Michell regards the Perioeci as Dorians — not pure Dorian, however, but probably of mixed blood, which resulted from intermarriage between the Dorian conquerors and the original inhabitants whom they subdued. He agrees with Larsen (art. on Perioikoi in RE) as regards their political status and organization. There were two sources from which the Helots were derived: first, the non-Dorian original inhabitants of Laconia and their descendants who had been reduced to serfdom by the conquerors; second, the early population of Messenia, which likewise had intermarried with the Dorians. A sharp distinction should be drawn, he believes, between these two classes. An additional element in the population, which he calls "Inferiors," is to be found in such designations as *hypomeiones*, *trophimoi* and *neodamodeis*.

Michell discovers considerable uncertainty in certain aspects of the Spartan constitu-

tion. For example, were there four or five tribes in later times and what was the origin of the Ephors and the Patronomoi under Cleomenes III? He follows Wade-Gery in denying that the term *Apella* (sing.) was ever applied to the Popular Assembly, which he calls *Ecclesia*. He questions the common view that Sparta made a practice of expelling foreigners who might spy upon the land and its customs (*xenelasia*), for the appointment of *proxenoi* was an honor and conferred upon distinguished foreigners the "freedom of the city." The inscriptional evidence for this practice, however, is late and would not compare with the custom at Athens; and besides, *proxenia* was not easy to obtain in Sparta. Moreover, he believes that the practice of employing secret police (*crypteia*) to harass the Helots was restricted to "extraordinary occasions" and was not indiscriminate.

Michell estimates that a noble Spartan could hold ten or fifteen acres of land near the city plus another estate farther out and still another which was suitable only for pasturage. This is the meaning of *cleros*, he thinks.

One characteristic of the book is the author's evident friendliness toward Sparta and his tendency to defend its people whenever opportunity offers. On this principle he would explain Spartan "fear" as probably the result of a dread lest the Helots rise in revolt, especially when the army was abroad. He explains Sparta's long-continued use of iron money as due to the abundance of iron in Laconia and its early sacred character. Nonetheless, the book is not unduly biased in favor of Sparta.

This book is written in attractive, readable style and ought to be useful for classes in the history of Greece. The Bibliography is good but one strange omission is that of Miss Chrimes' book although Michell himself had reviewed it in *Cl. Phil.* XLVI (1951), 184-188. For the character and significance of iron, he could well have referred to the following discussions by writers in the *Am. Jr. of Arch.*: H. C. Richardson, XXXVIII (1934), 555-583; Am. Hertz, XLI (1937), 441-6; Richardson, *ibid.* 447-451 (a reply to the preceding); Gaul in XLVI (1942), 400-409; Wright in XLIII (1939), 458-463. A few misprints and misspellings have been observed, such as *in for on*, p. 147, line 12; *pyrrhic dance* (sic), p. 185, line 29; *Enyalus* for *Enyalios*, pp. 190 f. (three times). Erroneous references to Homer occur on p. 281, note 3; the ref. to Rostovtzeff on p. 328, note 1, should read I, p. 209.

The importance of Michell's book is fur-

ther realized when one recalls that it is one of two books on Sparta so far written in English, that of Miss Chrimes being the first. In the main, the book adopts those views which to the author appear most reasonable solutions of the many difficulties which emerge in Spartan culture. Frequently the author is content to adopt solutions already offered by earlier writers without offering anything new of his own, except in the cases already observed.

THE VOLUME by Miss Chrimes (now Mrs. Atkinson) presents a special thesis in her study of Spartan institutions, namely, "that Spartan institutions of the early period were preserved almost unchanged into the Principate" (pp. 169 f.). This implies a study of Spartan customs and laws in reverse, which tries to extract from the late Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions found at Sparta an accurate record for much earlier times. She seems anxious to leave no problem unsolved and her book has been characterized by a British authority as "a curious mixture of sound and unsound historical method." See A. W. Woodward in his long review in *Historia*, Heft 4, 1950, p. 634; the complete review on pp. 616-634. Miss Chrimes maintains that after 179 B.C., when Cleomenes III restored the Agoge, Spartan laws and customs were essentially Lyncurgan. In Ch. IX she argues that the date 800 B.C. is more reasonable than 600 B.C. for the time of the original Lyncurgan reforms, because only very late and secondary Greek writers believe in the later date. Herodotus (I, 65) is the first extant writer to mention Lyncurgus. The arguments of the book, which usually are based upon many hypotheses, require highly critical study which only an experienced scholar can give, and they must be tested at nearly all points. For this reason the usefulness of the book will be confined largely to specialists who can sift the evidence carefully; see Woodward, as quoted above, and Michell in *Cl. Phil.*, as cited above on p. 4. Even so, there is much of value in it for the student of Greek history in the more general sense, as the chapters on the Ephebic organization, the Gerousia and the Magistrates, the early social organization and the subject population. The style is interesting and it is evident that the book is the result of much careful research. It is the first book in English published on Sparta.

Unfortunately a good many misprints in the Greek meet the eye. On p. 93, note 2, line 2, is *és* for *tês*; p. 96, note 3, line 1, *Tou* for *Ton*; p. 126, note 8, *én* for *'en*; p. 136, line 6, *sémnoi* for *semnoi*; p. 139, note 4,

line 1, misplaced accent; p. 202, note 3, *anepsias* for *anepsids*; and many others. The map is scarcely adequate and the Bibliography very brief.

E. L. HIGHBARGER

Northwestern University

Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau. Von KONRAD KRAFT. (Diss. *Bernenses Historiam Orbis Antiqui Nascentisque Medii Elucubrantes* . . . Ser. 1, Fasc. 3.) Berne: A. Francke, 1951. Pp. 200.

THE FIELD of this useful work is narrow, but the author has tilled it well under Alföldi's supervision. The epigraphical evidence is laid out on pp. 140-200 and summarized in charts; there is no index, but a list of abbreviations gives the essential bibliography. Kraft shows that local recruitment of auxiliary units goes back to the first century and that even thereafter some men (Thracians, Easterners, and others) were sent far from their native provinces. The other major subject of investigation is the extent to which recruits were Roman citizens before enlistment (rarely until the Flavians, but about half by the reign of Hadrian) and the grant of citizenship on discharge. When the author here raises his eyes outside his garden plot, he does not always carry us with him. The argument on the change in phraseology of the diplomas 139/144 is interesting but shaky; the attempt to prove that almost every man having the *tria nomina* was a Roman citizen is far from persuasive. The old view that the imperial navy used slaves at the outset recurs, though it is against the facts and logic. Ancient rowers had to be able to fight; neither slaves nor convicts were regularly used on galleys until gunpowder and cannon had been introduced in modern times — Ben Hur notwithstanding!

CHESTER G. STARR

University of Illinois

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman antiquities, Vol. VII. Translated by EARNEST CARY (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. X, 472. \$3.00.

THIS VOLUME concludes the Loeb edition of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. It contains book XI in its entirety, and all the known fragments of books XII-XX. The translation to the end of book XI is based on Edward Spelman's version. In Spelman's day, however, few of the Excerpts were known, and these few Spelman did not include in his translation. Cary's translation of all the

published Excerpts is, therefore, the first to appear in English.

Cary has given rather more attention to textual matters than is expected of a "Loeb" editor; this is especially true of the passages contained in the Excerpts. The translation is adequate. I feel that that is the highest praise that can honestly be bestowed upon an English translation of an ancient Greek author. Owing to basic differences between the two languages, a translator must be content with an accurate reproduction of the letter of the original; the spirit he must often sacrifice. The *Introduction* deals briefly with the manuscripts. The *General Index*, covering all seven volumes, is remarkably full, and, where I have tested it, very reliable.

Dionysius was primarily a rhetorician, a fact which becomes painfully evident in his *Antiquitates Romanae*. Especially the speeches are characterized by a cloud of language and an absence of thought. In general, he is verbose: he needs nearly ten books to say what Livy covers in three. Occasionally, however, he seems to be making a conscious effort to imitate Thucydides.

In spite of various shortcomings, Dionysius is worth reading. He used good sources in both Greek and Latin. He gathered and handed on to posterity a wealth of information. His approach to polymathy is refreshing in this day of specialization. Cary has performed a real service by making Dionysius available to the present generation of barbarians.

ALFRED P. DORJAHN

Northwestern University

LUCILIUS (from p. 35)

NOTES

¹ Citations will be made from the standard text of Marx (Leipzig, 1904). Livy, peric. 55; Cichorius, *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 32-3.

² Plut. *Ti. Gr.* 7; Vell. II, i. 5; Oros. V, 4, 21; Cichorius p. 37.

³ App. *Iber.* 88, Cichorius p. 36.

⁴ Hor. *Sat.* I, 71.

⁵ Cic. *De Rep.* I, 31.

⁶ Plut. *Ti. Gr.* 14, 2.

⁷ Cic. *Lael.* 77; *De Off.* I 87; Val. Max. IV, 1, 12.

⁸ Livy peric. 59; Suet. *Aug.* 89.

⁹ Cichorius, p. 154.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 58, 22.

¹¹ Hor. *Sat.* I, 67; Pers. I, 114.

¹² Tubulus had committed suicide in 141. Cic. *De Fin.* II, 54; V, 62; N. D. 3, 74. P.W. 5, 1145 (1st series): Carbo, at first an ardent Gracchan, had been suspected of murdering Scipio, but after the catastrophe to C. Gracchus had changed sides. When prosecuted by L. Licinius Crassus (119 B.C.) he had committed suicide.

¹³ Cic. *De Orat.* II, 267.

¹⁴ Cichorius pp. 283, 305.

¹⁵ Sall. *Jug.* 37, 39; Oros. V, 15, 6; Cichorius pp. 350-4.

¹⁶ P.W. XVII, 527.

COLLEGE LATIN SERIES

Under the General Sponsorship of Professors
Charles E. Bennett and John C. Rolfe

COMPLETE WORKS OF HORACE

Edited by Bennett and Rolfe

SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

Edited by J. H. Westcott

SELECTED LETTERS OF PLINY

Edited by J. H. Westcott

LUCRETIVS DE RERUM NATURA, BOOKS I-VI

Edited by Francis W. Kelsey

THE AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA OF TACITUS

Edited by Alfred Gudeman

SHORT STORIES OF APULEIUS

Edited by Joseph B. Pike

TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS

Edited by H. C. Nutting

MEDIAEVAL LATIN

Edited by Karl P. Harrington

HANDBOOK OF LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

Edited by W. M. Lindsay

CICERO'S CATO MAJOR AND LAELIVS

Edited by James S. Reid and

Francis W. Kelsey

LATIN POETRY

Edited by Basore and Weber

LATIN POETRY OF THE EMPIRE

Edited by Donnis Martin and Gladys Martin

SELECTIONS FROM ROMAN HISTORICAL LITERATURE

Edited by Seoon, Mierow, and Jones

LATIN SELECTIONS

Edited by Edmund H. Smith and

Willard K. Clement

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY EPIGRAMS OF MARTIAL

Edited by John H. Westcott

SELECTIONS FROM OVID

Edited by Kelsey and Scudder

And Many Other Titles. Please Send for Catalogue.

ALLEN and BACON

Boston

New York

Chicago

Atlanta

Dallas

San Francisco

Latin as a living language

in the REVISED

LATIN FOR AMERICANS

—Books One and Two—

ULLMAN AND HENRY

Teachable . . .

Short lessons

Skillful motivation

Superb, functional illustrations

Provision for word study—

English derivations

Unit Reviews

Teaching . . .

Increased understanding of the
English language

Increased appreciation of the rela-
tionship of a classical civilization
to our own

Excellent background material on Roman civilization:

GRANT SHOWERMAN'S

ROME AND THE ROMANS

Interesting and readable

New York 11 Chicago 16
Atlanta 3

The Macmillan Company

Dallas 21
San Francisco 5

in

co

Renaissance of Latin "RESPONDE MIHI"

Vir in armis:

It has been on my mind to write you about how to use the Latin reading filmstrips, tests, vocabularies, and the rest of the visual-oral-aural aids that THE TUTOR THAT NEVER TIRES, INC. offers for the more dynamic modern way of teaching.

If you are going to use these modern materials and techniques, you **MUST** have the projector and player in your classroom at your elbow. Taking your class to another part of the building is impractical; borrowing machines from elsewhere on occasion spoils the whole routine. The obvious and, in the long run, cheapest way is to own your own. Since machines last 15 or 20 years at least, the cost is negligible if you take the long view.

If I may make a suggestion from my own experience, the ARGUS PBB 300 watt projector with filmstrip adapter extra is the perfect machine for our work. It will project under almost daylight conditions, which means that ordinary shades will darken your room enough for the purpose. THE ARGUS PBB 300 has no teeth to wear out the filmstrip; a child can set it up and run it without trouble. It permits you to show one line at a time, or anything up to a whole frame of four or five lines, and turns in either direction at will.

The back of a map or any SMOOTH white surface is best for showing lettered filmstrips, for that type of surface will not fade the image for those sitting on the side of your room to any appreciable degree. Of course you know that the distance of the projector from the screen determines the size of the image. The room should be as light as clear image permits, never completely blacked out. A room that is too dark will make the image too bright. My room is always light enough for writing purposes; that means I can do written work from a filmstrip.

Whenever possible I synchronize a record with the filmstrip, a technique that affords maximum emotional impact. My playback machine has a detachable loudspeaker for a cover (all good players do). This permits me to use an "aggregate box" with ten headsets for listening purposes. As a matter of fact I have two of them jacked into the player with twenty headsets attached. Twenty students can listen to their instruction on records while the rest of the class works with me in some other activity.

And this will interest you especially: Have you asked for your **FREE** copy of Dr. Waldo E. Sweet's **MANUAL FOR TEACHERS**, written to accompany the filmstrips of the stories in SCOTT, FORESMAN'S great new text, **USING LATIN, BOOK ONE**? This manual will explain perfectly how to use ANY reading filmstrip with the correct techniques as developed by the science of Descriptive Linguistics. You undoubtedly have heard of the Latin Workshop currently going full blast at the University of Michigan under the direction of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. It promises great things for Latin in the future development of scientific teaching.

Dr. Sweet's **MANUAL FOR TEACHERS** is a real **MUST**—and all you need to do is just ask for it. I'll be happy to send you one.

Cordially yours,

Richard H. Walker

Tutor That Never Tires, Inc.
BRONXVILLE 8, NEW YORK

pinpoint
those "trouble spots"
with the

ATTAINMENT TESTS

for
the Scott-Horn-Gummere

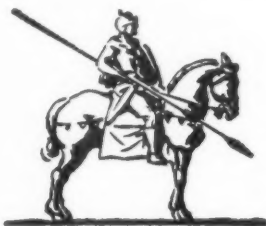
USING LATIN 1

USING LATIN 2

**SCOTT, FORESMAN
AND COMPANY**

Chicago 11 Atlanta 3 Dallas 2 San Francisco 5 New York 10

Latin and the Romans



NEW EDITION

By THORNTON JENKINS and A. P. WAGENER

These books make Latin a vital and appealing study for today's students. Here are stories of the colorful pageantry of Rome that pupils enjoy reading. Here are descriptions of our legacies from the Romans, both in language and in culture, which give Latin study a definite relation to today. Grammar and vocabulary are presented as needed for the reading. Book II tells the story of Aeneas in narrative form. Historical material is adapted from several writers. Selections are included from Caesar's Gallic Wars; also portions of the Aeneid itself. A Manual is available.

SALES OFFICES: NEW YORK 11 CHICAGO 16
ATLANTA 3 DALLAS 1 COLUMBUS 16
SAN FRANCISCO 3 TORONTO 5

Ginn and Company

HOME OFFICE: BOSTON

1
7

N

re
re
e,
re
ve
ed
le.

y
ON